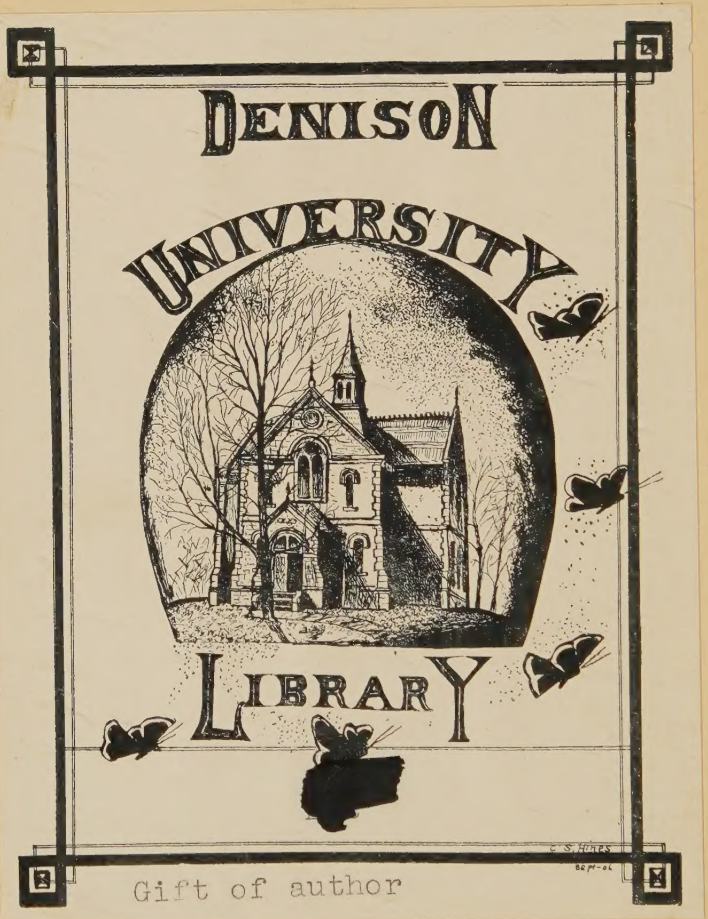
THE MISSION OF AMERICA

AND OTHER WAR-TIME SPEECHES

EDGAR A. BANCROFT



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THE MISSION OF AMERICA

AND OTHER WAR-TIME SPEECHES

OF

EDGAR A. BANCROFT

EDITED BY

FREDERIC BANCROFT

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

JOHN H. FINLEY

WASHINGTON, D. C.
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FREDERIC BANCROFT

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UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA
SAN DIEGO

INTRODUCTION

The request Edgar Bancroft made in one of his last letters from Japan to his brother, Frederic Bancroft, that I should write an introduction for the collection of addresses, which he wished his brother to gather and to publish, is to me like a codicil to a last will and testament. It is a legacy of friendship so precious that I fear to lose something of what it conveys in the very attempt to be the executor of his wish. But who that knew his noble nature and the spell of his speech would not be glad and proud to comply with this request? "Who would not sing for Lycidas?"

Since my Freshman days in Knox College (for we were academically "nursed upon the self-same hill") he has been, for me, the orator par excellence. I have in the intervening years heard most of the great orators of my time: Joseph H. Choate whose mellow, genial eloquence was without its charming like in English speech; Viviani when in a torrent of utterance he made his report to the French Senate on his return from America during the War; Lloyd George in the House of Commons, just before the War; Clemenceau when he stirred and captivated his audience in the Metropolitan Opera House, in New York, by such

simple diction as the Greek orator whose biography he has written might have used; Elihu Root, whose utterance Mr. Bancroft's most nearly resembled except in the tempo of its movement; and Woodrow Wilson whose clean-cut sentences, like carefully cut stones, were always fitly framed together into a perfect structure of speech, — not to mention or characterize many others whom I should put with these. But while each had his own excellence, none of these ever surpassed, for me, the clear, ringing speech of Edgar Bancroft.

He had always a certain verve of body which never failed, whatever his state of health, to respond to the demands of his eager spirit. In making an address he was always tense, like a runner sweeping toward a goal. There was seldom a figure of speech, never a labored one, never a line introduced just for the sake of ornament, appreciative as he was of beauty, never a meretricious word, never a descent to a story, an anecdote or an incident merely for the sake of entertainment. His diction was as lean and free of verbiage as that of the ancient Greek orators. And with all his debonairness of manner there was a Puritan intensity of spirit and an unsparing directness. He often spoke at length but never with volubility. His memory was phenomenal in its veracity and tenacity.

He covered a wide range of subjects from the night when he won the first prize in the Inter-State Oratorical Contest in 1878 with his oration on "The Loneliness of Genius" to his last speech in Japan ending with the appeal for recognition of the kinship of nations in the quotation from Aristophanes:

> From the murmur and the subtlety of
> suspicion with which we vex one another
> Give us rest;
> Make a new beginning
> And mingle again the kindred of the
> nations in the alchemy of love —
> And with some finer essence of forbearance
> Temper our mind.

His genius, great as it was, did not soar alone. He was associated with every local and national movement that he believed to be making for the good of the many. It was this application of his genius that led the people of his community to look to him as a private citizen for leadership, and especially for the expression of what they would collectively say if they could but put into fit words their thoughts, their inarticulate feelings. He became their unofficial spokesman.

This was notably true of the period covered by this collection. No other voice spoke more clearly, more unequivocally, and even fiercely, more patri-

otically, more eloquently, more convincingly in all those months and years of the World War, than his. There are fifty or more addresses, made between May 30, 1915 and June 14, 1919, from which thirteen have been selected for publication as showing the quality of thought and the fervor of patriotism that characterized all his utterances. "The Mission of America" with which this volume begins deserves to be preserved among the great American orations, and the people of Illinois should put into their school books extracts from the Centennial Address on "Illinois—the Land of Men". There followed a period beginning in 1919 when illness compelled silence for a year or two, but that he came back in all the vigor of his thought and expression of the days of the War is witnessed by the address, added to these war-time speeches, in welcoming Field Marshal Foch, who, with the members of his staff accompanying him, ranked this as first among the best of the four hundred and fifty-eight speeches delivered in their presence during the tour of America.

What the timbre of his voice was, what the distinguishing quality of his oratory, could not be defined to one who never heard that voice, which in his vehemence reached like Cicero's into so high a tone as to menace his own health and

in its gentleness descended to a tone as "sweet and full to the ear" as ever that ancient orator's could have been — these it is as impossible to characterize to one who never sat under the spell of Edgar Bancroft's eloquence, as it is to describe the flavor of a fruit to one who never tasted it. The phonograph and the radio, the moving picture and the instruments of television will hereafter do this for others with some approach to fidelity, but even they cannot wholly preserve the soul of a speech.

Many years ago, I suggested to Mr. Edison that he might as an ethereal archaeologist seek to recover the vibrations of voices no longer vibrant in the atmosphere of earth, — that we might hear, as once I heard Justin Winsor say on the shore of the lake where Edgar Bancroft lived, the prayer of Columbus out upon the ocean or the plash of the oars of the French explorers in the Western streams and lakes. But they can be recalled only by memory and by those vibrations transmuted into printed words. These alone can bring back what he uttered in the fierce passion of his denunciation of perfidy or in the deep emotion of his love of country and of the things for which America in his vision of its mission stands in the earth. Passages from these war-time speeches are therefore embodied in this introduction to give sug-

gestion of his rare powers of expression, of his idealism subject to the clearest reason, of his use of the poetical for an intensely practical purpose, of his constant turning to Lincoln as an idol yet an every-day working model and exponent of the freest democracy within safe lines of power, order and justice.

His scathing sentences in indictment of Germany's conduct in the war are included in all their bald, ruthless severity along with the fine flower of his filial offering to his mother State. They are as citations of his valor in action on the field of battle. He would not have a word of them erased or retracted even though attempt at expiation has been made by the broken people against whose vaunt of power they were directed.

Here follow excerpts which illustrate phases of his activity and utterances in those days and years of which everyone who was then beyond eighteen years of age is asked: "And what did you do during the World War?"

ON GERMANY

The Indictment

"For nearly three years our President's great patience, forbearance and love of peace kept our sword in its scabbard, though many eyes were blinded by tears and many hearts were hot with anger at German infamies in Belgium, France and Serbia, that violated and defied the laws of nations, of hu-

manity and of God. We remained at peace while German arms committed, in cold blood, unparalleled crimes — shelling Red Cross hospitals and deliberately torpedoing hospital ships filled with wounded men and their gentle, devoted nurses — ships of mercy and of peace sailing under the guaranty of the Red Cross. But Germany did not stop here. In contempt of our neutrality and forbearance she made direct war upon us. She filled our land with spies and criminals to destroy munition plants and blow up our ships. She submarined our unarmed merchant vessels and sank, without warning, passenger ships carrying American citizens lawfully travelling upon the high seas. Her murder of the defenceless and innocent passengers on the *Lusitania* was ruthless piracy, and nothing else. Afterward, she gave us her promise to cease that lawless warfare, and then used the time to build more submarines, to make it more lawless and effective than ever.

"Germany supplied her Ambassador, Bernstorff, with vast sums to bribe newspapers, Members of Congress and other prominent men, to mislead and deceive the American public and debase the 'nobility of the collective soul' of America. She sneeringly scorned her treaty obligations and flouted with insolence every principle of liberty and justice for which America stands; and finally she plotted to have Mexico and Japan make war against us.

"And all this was done while we were at peace with her and were honorably preserving and enforcing strict neutrality."

"Punic Faith" Out-Classed

"The conduct of Germany in this war has supplanted 'Punic faith' with a more expansive description of national treachery and baseness, 'Prussian faith'. Germany forced America into this war by the use of every means that a nation

without honor, without conscience, without scruple, without any regard for the rights of others could exert against a friendly nation. She made it impossible for the United States to stay out of the war and maintain honor or any moral self-respect."

"KULTUR"!

"Germany talks about her *Kultur*. Never, from the day of Cain all the way down through the red record of the Hun, the Mongol, the Moslem and our own American Apache, has any people, civilized or uncivilized, outdone in barbarity the deeds of savagery done in Belgium by the order of the German General Staff. And never before has such a scheme of perfidy, treachery and frightfulness been the result of a national policy. Never before have such deeds done by a nation's soldiers been defended by that nation's intellectuals."

GERMAN HONOR

"Germany's honor, as shown in this war from the day it began almost to the very day it ended, is treachery; her conscience is interest, and her right is power. We of America think that for a nation, as for an individual, honor is the very jewel of its soul; and if Belgium and France through all these years could stand steadfast, serene, unflinching and indomitable because they had the soul and the faith that lay hold on justice and truth, shall not we in America cling more firmly than ever to the fundamental principles of our Republic's justice and its liberty protected by law?

CRIMINAL PHILOSOPHY

"And why? Because they are a part of its criminal philosophy. Germany defends this philosophy, defends this military system. The fundamental law of this philosophy is the

law of the jungle — the law of tooth and claw. It is not the survival of the *fittest;* it is the survival of the *fiercest.* It subordinates all that is best and finest in German history, in German life and literature, to mere organized power. It denies that in the State's business there can be any moral obligations or moral standards. In the German mind the superman is the man that is not killed; the super-race is the race that can destroy all other races, no matter how foul and destestable the means."

ON FRANCE

Holding for Us the Pass of Civilization

"Men, America is essentially in the same situation as France. We have not paid the price yet, but until we have paid the price we are not worthy of the reward that will come and which France has already earned. Until we have paid some such price, until we have made some such sacrifices, until we have shown some such devotion, the spirit of America will lack much of the spirit of France. * * *

"The spirit of America, which is the spirit of its men and its women, is not the true American spirit, and will not be until it has made its sacrifices, until it has proved its devotion, until it has stood fast in the way Belgium and France and England and her colonies have stood fast, holding for us the pass of civilization."

An Apostrophe

"And we pray that to all our people may come a portion of the spirit of France; France, not only nourisher of liberty, of the fine arts, of the sciences and of the refinements of life, but France the enduring, the steadfast, the brave; and that, in her spirit, we shall all consecrate ourselves to work that the men and women of France have nobly advanced.

"France has given all. A million of her youth have kept

'a rendezvous with Death,
On some scarred slope of battered hill.'

* * * The French have shown to the world, in an age that we thought had almost lost its spirit and its soul, that the soul of France is not dead, and that a nation can give all, and lose all save honor, and yet be the greatest among all nations.

'A name like a star, a name of light;
A name that rings like a battle song;
A name like a vow, a name like a prayer—
I give you FRANCE!'"

CANCEL FRANCE'S WAR-DEBT

"We are in this war to win so that we may show our appreciation of the matchless spirit of France and repay in generous measure the deep debt that we owe her. At the end of this war I hope we shall cancel every debt that she owes us. Such a gift would not be greater relatively than was her gift to the United States one hundred and forty years ago."

FOCH'S HEART

"It is a part of the fine quality of his leadership that he has heart. In all his responsibilities and fame, he has never forgotten the friends of his little native village in the Pyrenees, or the troubles and anxieties of the young officer, or the common soldier. And somehow our American boys in France, though many of them never saw him, knew this, and responded to his human appeal with an added dash and bravery which all the world called superb. That is why there is so much warmth in the welcome of the overseas men. Some of them know that they are here because he stopped the war as soon

as he could. Yet, when they were in France, their sense of his leadership only made them more forgetful of self, more ready to fight, to suffer and to die under his command."

ON BELGIUM

The Great King of a Small Nation

"Belgium — peaceful, prosperous, unoffending — had done nothing to earn the enmity of any nation on earth. Its independence, its neutrality and its safety had been guaranteed by a solemn treaty to which Germany was a party. Flouting that treaty as a scrap of paper, and in defiance of law and right, Germany marched the greatest army raised in the world to the boundary of Belgium and demanded leave to pass through Belgium in order to attack France, and Albert, the great king of a little country, answered: 'Belgium is a nation not a highway'."

The Word that Answers every Question

"There is one word that answers every question, every objection, every doubt that may be raised as to our part in this war. That word is Belgium.

"Belgium is the unanswerable proof of Germany's responsibility for this devastating war.

"Belgium compels the final triumph of justice and freedom.

"Belgium makes certain the overthrow of oppression and force and the end of Prussia's ruthless power.

"Belgium prevents any peace without restitution and reparation. For, as surely as men love justice and a just God rules the universe, Belgium shall be vindicated and requited, and shall rise again in honor, strength and beauty. * * * Long, long from now, when the Marne, Ypres, the Somme and even Verdun are only dates and names, men will read the story of Belgium's crucifixion and read it with love and with tears."

ON CANADA

Our Gracious Sister

"Never before have our hearts been so warmed in admiration and affection toward our gracious sister and good neighbor, Canada. Like the leaves of her maple, the frosts of danger and of sacrifice have made her beautiful with the crimson glow of courage and heroic endeavor.

"The bonds between her and us which have been unbroken — nay, unstrained — for a hundred years, shall be strengthened and vitalized as never before when her sons and our sons have poured out their generous blood together on the fields of France in this holy cause."

COMMENTS ON THE WAR

Neutral, Yes, but . . .

"We are neutral, but we cannot be indifferent to violations of treaty obligations or the law of nations, by whatever belligerent committed. Neutral, yes, but we will not be blind to the wanton destruction of homes or churches or museums of art. Neutral, yes, but we are not deaf to the cries of innocent women and children ruthlessly maimed and murdered. To be neutral is not to be insensible!"

Love of Country

"This war is not of our choosing. We cannot love our country well unless we love its honor more. Its honor is justice, liberty and human rights: Justice to our citizens and to the rights and liberty of other peoples."

The Call to Courage

"Therefore, we summon up our courage; we gather all the forces of our nation — its ships and its arms, its soldiers and

its sailors, its wealth of money and credit, its wealth of factory and farm and mine, its wealth of commerce and transportation and banking — we call to service and to sacrifice America's greatest wealth and power, the men and the women of America, the young and old and the middle-aged — every one who loves this starry banner of the free; and above us our Flag, like a bugle-call, rallies and unites our minds, our wills and our hearts, — the soul of America, — to wage this War against War; so that never again shall the fair fields of earth be desolated by human hands and drenched in human blood; so that peace may come for all peoples forevermore."

"Peace"

"We shall have peace — but it will be the peace of the flaming sword of justice. And the measure of the justice and righteousness of that peace will be the justice it does to unhappy Belgium.

"We shall have peace when we win it from the brutal forces of autocracy. Those lean, square-jawed fighting men of our own America, who are, at this hour, near the firing-line 'somewhere in France' — they and the legions to follow them from these shores — will help to bring back a just and lasting peace to us, to bleeding Belgium and to the world."

Honor-Men of the Future *vs.* Slackers

"To you, young men, today is given the opportunity and the call to be the honor-men of the years to come. To have fought for democracy in this war will be a proud distinction for you, to your family and to your children's children. There will never be a society of the Sons and Daughters of American Slackers! — not even though they call themselves Pro-Americans! 'Pro-Americanism'! There *is* no such thing. The

Americanism that will not fight for America to the death is not Americanism at all."

The One Thought

"They have but one thought, one hope, one prayer, — these young Americans who have been called to arms. It is that they may go and go soon to those fields that are already hallowed by the blood of so many heroes, and there prove themselves not less valorous and heroic than these knightly visitors of the Black Watch."

Six Words Tell All

"Why are we in this war? The question can be answered in six words and they are these: 'Belgium', 'France', 'Lusitania', 'German perfidy' and 'Autocracy'; and then two other words complete the answer — 'To Win!'".

La Follette Disloyal?

"What is the conclusive answer to any charge of disloyalty? Acts and words of patriotism and loyalty. What was Senator La Follette's answer in his speech of two hours in the Senate? Not one word of devotion toward his country and the Government in this crisis; not one word of reprobation of the criminal and barbarous acts of Germany; not one word of sympathy with the sufferings and crucifixion of wholly innocent Belgium; not one word of sympathy with the millions of our Allies, who, on land and sea, have fought the battle for us until now; not one word of praise or encouragement for American soldiers now in France or for the million and a half who are in our training camps!

"Senator La Follette permits us to draw but one conclusion: that he is too supremely selfish to be a patriot and too cowardly to be a traitor."

The Spirit of the Times

"The spirit of the times! Ah! how fine the spirit that first shone radiant and dauntless in the youth of America! I like to remember that long before the American Government knew what this war involved, and what our duty was, long before we Americans realized what the contest was and what our duty was, thirty thousand sons of America were fighting under the banners of Canada and France. The spirit of the youth of America! How it has flamed forth everywhere throughout our broad land during this past year! Go to the cantonments, and see the men and the officers; there is but one spirit — the spirit of being ready to go and fight in a cause which is the holiest for which men ever fought — of eagerness, when ready, to go at once, and 'over there' to tread the path that leads to the supreme devotion."

An Appeal to Firemen

"First put out the fire. That is our business at this time. And in putting out this world-conflagration what is fundamental? This is fundamental — that the persons responsible for setting this fire should not profit by it; that they should not get the insurance, if that was their purpose in setting the fire. It is important that they not only shall not profit by it, but that they shall suffer for their crimes! Men will not be guilty of setting fires when the penitentiary or something worse is their certain punishment. And men and nations will not start wars like the one now raging when such wars are made not only not profitable but a loss.

"Therefore, the only way we can deal with this war is to make certain that we win it, and, winning it, make certain that Germany pays the full price of her awful crimes against nations and humanity! That will cure war. When war is unprofitable, war will cease."

POLITICAL WISDOM

Class *vs.* the State

"But when any groups or classes unite to obtain or exert political power — when the state, which is all-of-us, is controlled by a class which is a few-of-us, for the special benefit of that class — then the sapping of our national foundations has begun. In our republic the political unit is the individual, and the rights of all must be equally maintained. There can be no *class justice* — under any name."

Power *vs.* Honor

"The nations and the men who have ruled and flourished in *power* are warnings, not examples. The ruined cities, desolated homes, the scattered survivors of Belgium with their honor radiant, their courage unblenching, their spirit unbroken, are a surer basis for an enduring state than the myriad legions, in the irresistible panoply of war, which wrought this ruin against a plighted faith."

America's Mission

"The mission of America is liberty and justice — liberty *through* justice. The state and the citizen should bring every question to the test of conscience. For, in a republic, organized government is but the mortal body — the principles of human rights and a quick and constant moral sense are its immortal soul."

"Compromise"!

"How can there be compromise between a system of faithlessness, militarism, plunder and cruelty, on the one side, and fidelity to national obligations, democracy and the principles of humanity, on the other?"

The True American

"I have spoken of the true American: the American that is not true to these traditions is not an American at all. The American that will not lend and spend his money, give his brain, his service, his life for the sake of his country is unworthy of the land that bore him or has given him a home. He is not an American in anything but name. In his heart he is the enemy of his country."

Prophetic

"The soldiers and sailors, the youth of America, are doing, will do, their full part. Every day men of Great Britain, of Ireland, of Canada, resident in the United States, are rallying to the Union Jack, as our sons are training under our flag. Together they will fight to save democracy, not only in France, Great Britain and America, but save democracy to the world; save it, as they surely will, for Germany herself."

What America Stands For

"The spirit of America is the spirit of justice, the spirit of equality, and, that fact recognized, it is no more possible to have a just government by the ignorant alone than by the educated alone; no more by the so-called proletariat, the poor, than by the rich alone; no more by those of one class than by any other class. The democracy for which we fight and the spirit of democracy which should pervade America more and more is the spirit that denies all divisions and recognizes that the Government is a government in which all participate, which protects all equally; which no class can claim for itself, either to control or to direct, or for the obtaining of special privileges, without imperiling not only the rights and the

safety of society itself, but the rights and safety of the very class that assumes to control.

"America stands for the rule of justice; not the rule of power. And when any class, any group, seizing power, exercises its will, then that rule and that group do not represent democracy, do not represent the United States of America."

The Problem of Democracy

"The problems are the old ones of making and keeping a democracy honest and humane in purpose, genuine, intelligent and steadfast in character. The perpetual problem, as Lincoln stated it, is to have a government strong enough to protect the liberties of the people in a crisis, but not too strong for those liberties in times of peace; the problem of keeping justice and liberty equal and fraternal, and of ever guarding and preserving not only the essential principles, but the essential institutions of our free Republic.

"This war has taught us, as no other war in our history has done, that a republic must not only be willing to fight for its liberties, but it must be prepared to fight; that loyalty imposes a constant obligation which will be most cheerfully recognized and met if it is definite and applies to every youth alike.

"The utter collapse and disintegration of Russia have taught us — as we needed to be taught and cannot too often call to mind — that there can be no justice assured to anyone except under ordered liberty, under a government of justice and law; that a socialistic government, whether resulting in anarchy or oligarchy, is not the government which Washington founded and Lincoln saved. Their government was of the whole people, and not of any class, and was founded in rules of right and in permanent institutions of liberty and justice."

Free Government

"Free government no more means a government of the proletariat than of the grand dukes; no more of the poor than of the rich; no more of the ignorant than of the learned. It means a government in which *all* participate, and under which the *rights of all* are *equally* protected; and protected not by the *will of the rulers,* whether a vast committee or an irresponsible czar, but protected by fundamental principles of justice and by established institutions of freedom.

"* * * Reverence for law must ever go with devotion to liberty, else liberty is lost. 'Law is the uttered conscience of the State restraining the individual will.'"

Internationalism

"The pitiful exhibition of 'international democracy' in Russia the past year should be warning enough to us against every propaganda that weakens, in any way or for any human purpose, complete patriotic devotion to America. All such movements in the name of humanity destroy all the safeguards of essential human rights.

'God gave all men all earth to love,
But since man's heart is small,
Ordained for each one spot to be
Beloved over all.'"

EPIGRAMS

"Whenever there is more or less than justice, there is injustice; * * * Moral and spiritual forces find their strength in their purity, and not in numbers."

"Honor can never be stained by the acts of another, and

neither a man nor a nation can protect or redeem honor by unjust and cruel deeds."

"The place to right the wrong is where it is done. The time to resist oppression is the earliest effective moment. That time is now, and the place is the battle front."

"We are in, and the shortest way out is *through*."

"Brave men are at home everywhere. The appeal of valor is world-wide. No nation, no race, no clime, can claim heroism as its special possession; it speaks the universal language of shining deeds."

"Until Germany asks France to forgive, let no one ask France to forget!"

It was this last sentence that Marshal Foch and his companions took home as the most precious of the jewels gathered in America. It gives fit ending to the collection relating directly or indirectly to the Great War.

From these one turns to the peaceful fields of Edgar Bancroft's own State where he dwelt with a mind which like Lincoln's "brought every question to the test of truth", and his heart "had no room for the memory of a wrong".

ON ILLINOIS

French Explorers and Frontiersmen

"It is a brave banner that we unfurl, bearing the record of our hundred years. There you may read the story of Père Marquette, carrying the cross to the wild tribes of our prai-

ries; of the French *coureurs du bois,* romantic, brave, enduring; of the frontiersmen, who, like the explorers and fur traders, loved the wilderness, its hardships and adventures, with its free life and isolation, for their own sake, and then as towns and cities grew, they vanished beyond the Mississippi."

The Pioneers

"You can see there the pioneers — the lonely log cabin, the little hamlet in the midst of the undulating sea of prairie flowers, guarded by the church spire and the school house, rather than by the walls and gates of old. Into the peace and silence come a few harsh notes of strife between savage and settler; splashes of blood stain the lake's yellow sands. Then you can see later the yeomen of the countryside marching with their flintlocks against the Indians in the one war that has touched the soil of Illinois. * * *

'They rise to mastery of wind and snow;
They go like soldiers grimly into strife
To colonize the plain. They plow and sow
And fertilize the sod with their own life,
As did the Indian and the buffalo.'"

Grant

"What a powerful inspiration in the trying days of this World War have been the memories of the Illinois leaders in the War for the Union! * * *

"And Grant, of the stern, unflinching, untelling face, of a figure and a stature that gave no hint of martial glory or of martial prowess, but which held a spirit that was dogged, indomitable, persistent and resistless in war; that was gentle, self-sacrificing and more sublimely brave in peace; that made

Appomattox a shrine of magnanimity and Mount McGregor an altar of moral heroism."

Lincoln

"But above all in our Pantheon is Lincoln, the people's hero, whose greatness is the common possession of mankind: A face so plain that it fascinates, so sad it touches the heart, so illumined it draws us from all sordidness; eyes that beacon to the safe harbor of a true soul; a form builded like the ships of the Vikings, strong to the uttermost and all but graceful in the perfection of its strength; a mind that brought every question to the test of truth and would not deceive others because it would not deceive itself—a mind ever ruled by a heart which, as Emerson said, was as capacious as the storehouse of the rains, but had no room in it for the memory of a wrong; a mind and a heart distraught, oppressed, borne down under burdens greater than ever man bore and shaken by a temperament touched with moodiness and mysticism, but kept sound by a philosophy that took the sense of the comic as a preservative of wisdom and the sense of duty as the preservative of honor and endeavor; a spirit so fine that it felt, past all argument, the imminence of Divinity; a life harmonized and made glorious in the conclusion of Darwin — though a man may not fully know the issue of his life or the nature of God, he can do his duty. And how Lincoln did his duty, mankind will ever love to tell."

The Flower

"When the heat of summer lies heavy upon our land there comes a flower that bursts in white and gold on the sluggish stream and decks with sweet stars of day the surface of many a murky pool. The Illinois of our pride today is not found in its population or wealth or its material resources. It is

in the soul of our commonwealth. Like a pond lily, it has grown out of the depth of this fecund valley, and, striving upward through all the turbulent and turgid floods of a new industrial and civil life, has been nourished even by the impurities in which it was rooted.

"Only as our buildings and enterprises, our genius for production and commerce strengthen and uplift our people, are they truly admirable. Every beauty of line in the material edifice of our greatness, every political or commercial achievement that stirs the spirit, is proof of the essential soundness of a civilization that has been and still may be somewhat crude, yet has been always genuine, always aspiring."

The brief biography of Edgar Addison Bancroft does not furnish an explanation of the genius that flowered in him. Some of us sat at the same lamp with him, but as Demosthenes said in reply to some one who reproached him for the marks of studied preparation in his speeches, our lamps were not conscious of the same things with his, or, if they were, did not give us the same gift of expression.

That chronicle of his life is as follows: — He was born in Galesburg, Illinois, November 20, 1857, and died in Karuizawa, Japan, July 28, 1925. He was educated in the Galesburg public school and at Knox College. From childhood his amiable vivacity was very attractive and his natural talents marked him with a certain distinction. To these were early added a well-ordered ambition

and a fondness for useful activity, sometimes too intense for his physical welfare, which he gladly risked for any important task. Winning the first prize in the Inter-State Collegiate Oratorical Contest at St. Louis, May 8, 1878, was a youthful promise of what was subsequently so abundantly fulfilled. After graduation from Knox, in 1878, he studied law at Columbia University and received the degree of LL. B. in 1880. He began and continued general practice in Galesburg until 1892, when he went to Chicago to become solicitor for Illinois of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co. From 1895-1904 he was vice-president and general-solicitor of the Chicago and Western Indiana R. R. Co. and the Belt R. R. Co. He was a member of the law firm of Scott, Bancroft, Martin & MacLeish, 1904-24, and general counsel of the International Harvester Co. from 1907 to 1920, when he resigned on account of ill health. At different times he was president of the Illinois State Bar Association, of the Law Club and of the Chicago Bar Association. The range of his social relations was shown by his membership in these clubs: the Chicago, the Union League (president 1904-5), the University, the Literary, the Merchants' (president 1899), the Commercial (president 1919-20), the City, the Cliff Dwellers, the Onwentsia and the Old Elm. He was long a trus-

tee of the Carnegie Peace Foundation. On the invitation of the *Comité France-Amérique* he (together with former Attorney-General Wickersham, Prof. William M. Sloane, and President Church of the Carnegie Institute of Technology), in the spring of 1923 made a trip through the North African provinces of Morocco and Algeria. His chief recreations were travel, golf and big-game hunting, all of which often served him well after excessive work.

In 1896 he married Margaret Healy of Brooklyn, New York, who died in 1923. Death cut short his ambassadorship to Japan, 1924-25, but happily not until after his difficult mission was highly successful.

His publications included "The Chicago Strike of 1894"; "Destruction or Regulation of Trusts", 1907, and numerous addresses. He was chairman of the commission that published "The Negro in Chicago: a Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot", 1922. From 1880 until a few weeks before his death he was often the orator on patriotic, academic or festive occasions. It was during the World War that he was most frequently invited to speak and most gladly responded. Many of his speeches at other times were also of great merit, and it is understood that his brother intends to collect the best of them and of some other productions, in one or more volumes.

If I were asked to suggest an epitaph for this life which was ended in a service not alone to his own loved community (for whom he speaks again in this eloquent volume) or to his country (to which his body was borne back across the Pacific, like that of King Arthur on his sable barge to Avalon) but to the whole world of mankind, I should take the words from a book which he gave me more than a quarter of a century ago (Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*), in definition of nobility, — the nobility which was preëminently his:

> THERE IS A NOBILITY WITHOUT HERALDRY, A NATURAL DIGNITY, WHEREBY ONE MAN IS RANKED WITH ANOTHER, ANOTHER FILED BEFORE HIM ACCORDING TO THE QUALITY OF HIS DESERT AND PREEMINENCE OF GOOD PARTS

THE MISSION OF AMERICA

An Address at Lake Forest, Illinois
Independence Day, 1915

AS we meet today to celebrate the birth of our Republic, all Europe is engulfed in a titanic war that shakes and saddens and appalls the world. Every ideal of human rights protected by law, every standard of obligation between nations — all that civilization means — seems involved in this contest of force. How shall we regard it — what is our true attitude toward it as individuals — in the light of our national history and character?

The object of the American Revolution, as set forth in the Declaration, was independence on the basis of human rights. The colonies rebelled against England's assertion of arbitrary power. "No taxation without representation" was a rather fine-spun theory for those days, when the colonists in so large a measure controlled their local affairs. The hardships and oppressions which the Declaration recited were but indications of the sovereignty which Great Britain asserted and the colonists resented. They rebelled not so much because of the *burden* of the taxes and other grievances as of their *injustice*. While

they declared for human liberty, they really fought for their own independence as Anglo-Saxons, and for rights for which they could show no precedent. They *made* the precedent as a matter of justice, and won its recognition by pledging their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

Every other government in the world rested upon and expressed the *sovereignty of power.* The Declaration planted itself on the *sovereignty of justice* — the only impregnable basis for popular government. It asserted, for the first time in history, human rights as the object of all government, and set up a new standard for sovereignty and law, the *moral* standard, the rights of the governed.

So, in the War of 1812, while the active cause was the old enmity, America asserted the new right of protection for its neutral ships against arbitrary search by belligerents. The war did not establish that right — though it was afterward admitted — but it gave a new application of the principles of the Declaration, and we again appealed to justice rather than precedent.

In our two wars with England, the battle for the rights of men, however, had not yet been won; for the question of slavery, which the Constitution deferred and avoided, was still unsettled. Slavery was expanding and strengthening with our

growth. It was an actual and heinous violation of our political faith; yet it was defended for its industrial and commercial value. The struggle over slavery was a contest between the dominant political power of the South and the unanswerable moral sentiment for freedom. It involved a moral question; therefore it was irrepressible and could not be compromised. The compromisers, as Lincoln said, were "groping for some middle ground between right and wrong — vain as a search for a man who would be neither a living man nor a dead man."

In 1847 Lincoln challenged, in Congress, the warrant for our invasion of Mexico. He was called traitor for his courage. He rejoined that he would not "skulk" the vote, and he would not vote what he "felt and knew to be a lie." So many political leaders either "skulked" the vote or voted against their consciences that slavery grew until it dominated our national life and corrupted our political morals. The Mexican War and the various attempts to annex Cuba were in the interest of slavery, to increase the political control of its defenders. As Lincoln said to Douglas at Ottawa, slavery "was blowing out the moral lights around us."

In 1861 it fell to Lincoln to save his country against the very men who were vociferous

" patriots " in the days of the Mexican War. When slavery could no longer rule, it would not be part of a nation that it could not control. Therefore, in fighting for its chief institution, the South was the aggressor. It put slavery above union. Then slavery had to be destroyed to save the Union. And the Union soldiers fought to make the Declaration true — to remove the stain of human bondage from the flag of liberty, for Lincoln's generous plan of making some compensation to the slave-owners for their overwhelming loss was not adopted.

When the war ended, the liberty and equality of the Declaration had blossomed into a real equality and a universal freedom. But mere emancipation was not enough. So, also, the Amendments to the Constitution, to shelter the negro in his years of tutelage, failed of their purpose. The days of reconstruction seemed only to heighten the bitterness of the war. Reconstruction was a policy of force under law, and it was resisted with force in utter defiance of law. We were still a divided people. Time was needed for reconciliation. The brave veterans of the two armies led in the chivalrous and fraternal reunion of North and South, which became complete in our war with Spain.

The Spanish war, however, did not obliterate

the sectional differences; it only proved that they had disappeared. In its better aspects that brief war was a bit of knight-errantry. Again we appealed to principle and the universal sense of justice. We asserted distinctly our right and duty to stop oppression and outrage upon our neighbors. Though we complained that the unending cruelties of Spain's attempt to assert her sovereignty over Cuba disturbed our peace and comfort, that was not the real cause of our interference; but it was the only basis for our action that was recognized by the law of nations. And our action had a higher sanction in that fundamental law of our national life that governments are instituted among men to " establish justice " and preserve those inalienable human rights. Our action also found warrant in that corollary, first declared by John Quincy Adams, known as the Monroe Doctrine. It was expressed in our declaration of war against Spain, — as it was in President Cleveland's Venezuelan message in 1895,— the American love of justice and fair play, our instinctive and generous courage in the presence of oppression. In Cuba, as in the rescue of Pekin from the "Boxers", we fought as the champions of humanity, and scorned all recompense for our chivalry. We did *not* forget — as Mazzini said of the Revolutionists of 1848 — " that the charter of

a nation's liberties is an article of the charter of humanity, and that they alone deserve that charter who are ready to conquer or die for all humanity."

If, in all our history, the stars in their courses have seemed to fight with us, it has been because we have, in the main, heeded our consciences and have really cherished "the dearest interests of mankind."

July 4, 1776, is memorable for the courage and political wisdom and genius of the Declaration of Independence issued that day. But it was only the beginning of a free people; and that beginning, like every birth, must find its true significance in the results. The people of those small and weak colonies had first to make their Declaration good by force of arms. This they did by seven long years of heart-breaking struggle. They succeeded by the patience, the endurance, the indomitable will and wisdom of one man — Washington. But when they had won their independence, what was it? There were now thirteen independent States freed from the rather slight domination of the British Crown, but neither their liberties nor the principles of the Declaration were yet established.

Their common impulse was for *independence*, not *nationality*. Even during the Revolution the

representatives in the Continental Congress gave more attention to their differences and petty jealousies than to the pressing needs of Washington's army. The central government was but a weak, ill-organized league of independent states. It was not a nation; it was not even an effective confederation. It was hardly more than a committee which discussed the common needs but had no power to supply them. It could request aid from the States, but the States could grant or deny it. Thus, what we are wont to think of as a new nation after the Revolution, with such an heroic origin, was already contemptible for its weakness, even in the eyes of those who had created it.

And so, in 1787, at Philadelphia, was framed the Constitution of the United States, which created a new nation in fact, and preserved constructively all that the Declaration had proclaimed and the Revolution had won. But, even in that convention of fifty-five delegates, containing the largest percentage of able, experienced and sagacious men ever gathered in a political assembly, most of them were still thinking in the terms of their state — were, as Weir Mitchell has called them, "statriots", not patriots. The people of the colonies did not then realize how essential an organized central government was to the preser-

vation of their newly-won liberties; and the framers of the Constitution knew that their duty to the people was not so much to represent the major popular sentiment as to provide enduring protection for the people's rights.

Yet, so general was the fear among the people of the powers given the new nation — that it might prove as tyrannical as the foreign rule it supplanted — that the first ten Amendments were soon adopted to assert and preserve the fundamental rights of individuals against the encroachments of the national government.

How groundless these fears were our history has abundantly proved. But for the national spirit, which year by year grew up under the Constitution, the great Republic would have been torn asunder by the Civil War.

After the Rebellion it was seen that these inalienable human rights might be as readily infringed by the States, under the rule of a despotic majority, as by the nation. Thus came the Fourteenth Amendment, guaranteeing to each citizen that his rights of life, liberty and property should not be taken but by due process of law, and that each individual should enjoy the equal protection of the laws.

Of course, in a country as large and diverse in its origins, interests and industries as ours, there

will be natural groupings. And there is benefit in intelligent class-consciousness as there is in collective bargaining and in all co-operations for social improvement. But when any groups or classes unite to obtain or exert political power — when the state, which is all-of-us, is controlled by a class which is a few-of-us, for the special benefit of that class — then the sapping of our national foundations has begun. In our republic the political unit is the individual, and the rights of all must be equally maintained. There can be no *class justice* — under any name. There is no workman's justice, no employer's justice, no railroad's justice, no banker's justice, any more than there can be a white man's justice or a black man's, under our Constitution. There is just *justice* — the same for all.

Whenever there is more or less than justice, there is injustice; and injustice can rest only on power; and the appeal to power is finally the appeal to brute-force; and, in that contest, human rights will be less secure than ever before, and the advantages of the rich and the powerful will not be lessened, but aggravated. No true man, of whatever social or industrial class, will yield his individual conscience to the standard which the majority of his group may set up. Moral and

spiritual forces find their strength in their purity, and not in numbers.

It has recently been urged, by a book written in the avowed interest of Socialism, that the Constitution was framed by men of wealth and that the propertyless people were not represented in its framing. It is true that George Washington, the presiding officer, was perhaps the richest man in America at that time, and that most of the delegates were men of property and prominence in their respective States. But it is not true that the workman and the men of no property were not represented. Where in the history of the world has greater service been rendered to the man without property — to the workmen and the men of small means — than was rendered by the framers of our Constitution? Many of them we might call the rich and aristocratic, but they were the men who had pledged their fortunes as well as their lives and sacred honor to win independence for the Colonies. Their task in the Constitutional Convention was to preserve for all the people the liberties that were thus won. Judge their work by its results. To what portion of the earth have the men without property been looking and coming with hope most constantly since 1787? Under what government — at any time or anywhere — have the rights of men without property

been so great or the opportunities of gaining property, and their recognition *as men,* been so free and full as in the United States? As well might the negroes complain that they were not represented in the Congress that proposed, or in the Legislatures that adopted, the XIII, XIV and XV amendments.

Because of this moral sentiment of the Constitution, its guaranty of equal human rights, of justice to all, ignoring all artificial standards of race, color, religion or property, and giving to each man an equal share in the Government under which he lives, all true Americans have paid it reverence and devotion.

Millions and millions of immigrants, of all races and conditions of poverty and illiteracy and distorted notions of government, have been received and uplifted and absorbed in our nation, and have in turn sustained and enriched it. From Alexander Hamilton to Carl Schurz men of foreign birth have been among our most distinguished and useful patriots.

How shall we increase the value of America to the world, and the value of our immigrants to America? How shall we make their Americanization rapid and complete? First, the native citizens should work with the naturalized in hearty fellowship, so that both may feel the spirit of free-

dom and equality, of individual self-respect and independence, for which America stands. To know the American spirit, the new-comers must learn to read and write and speak the language of America. We have three or four million immigrants of voting age who do not know our language, though many of them with inspiring persistence are attending night schools to acquire it. With the native language newspaper there should also be one in English, so that the parents and children may learn the current life of America together.

The naturalization ceremony should be made more impressive. What more important event is there than to become a citizen — one of the sovereign people — of this great Republic? How shall the new citizen regard this as important if we, who are alive to all that it means, give it so little heed? July Fourth should be made throughout the nation the day of dedication of the new voter, whether the suffrage is gained by naturalization or by becoming of voting age. The value of the right and the seriousness of the obligation thus received should be impressed upon both. "Americanization is a matter of spirit and soul", not a matter of a man's physical birth-place, national origin or creed. And we must constantly take pains that all the materials in this melting

pot are fused — that no lump remains unleavened by the American spirit. All groups, whether of native Americans or of any foreign race are as such equally injurious. "American" admits of no adjective and no hyphen. Every man in this country is, and must feel himself to be, either an American or an alien; and every American is entitled to absolute equality with every other American.

The need of today is a more thorough Americanization and fraternal union of all the diverse elements of our industrial and social wealth and power. Our citizens must be united, not merely in forms of law but by a deep devotion to American standards, American political principles and ideals. The danger is not now from state rights or sectional interests, but from artificial distinctions of class or race or creed. All such divisions of Americans for political action are un-American and disloyal. Whoever attempts to create, or preserve, or use, in politics a separation of Americans on any lines of class or race interests is false to the spirit of the Declaration and the Constitution, and should be so regarded by all true Americans. The citizen who yesterday took the oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, forswearing all fealty to every other nation, potentate or power, is as truly an

American as he whose ancestors crossed in the *Mayflower* or settled Virginia or Massachusetts Bay under a royal grant.

Our politics should not be left to self-seekers who arouse race prejudice or appeal to class feeling to gain votes. The Republic has a right to the services of its best and strongest men in peace as in war. It needs the support and protection of the honesty and industry of every citizen. It challenges him to rise to his highest impulses and capacity. It needs day by day all the strength of intelligence and character and experience and conscience, in which the people of this country abound. The leaders should thus be chosen and not choose themselves. Leadership should no more be the result of personal advertising than of casting lots. The true " rule of the people " is not a noisy assembly of all the voters selecting their leaders from the most conspicuous or adroit in appealing to class or race sympathy. It is the deliberate selection by the citizens of able and trustworthy men as the representatives of the whole people and subject to their will.

Our democratic form of government is vitally imperiled by increasing extravagance, wastefulness, inefficiency and dilatoriness. New bureaus and departments are constantly being organized to supervise fields of private activity or to scru-

tinize other departments of public business. And outside of these are the numberless volunteer associations of citizens, involving vast expenditures of service and money, to correct or improve or prevent intolerable public administration. They are mere *vigilance committees* to protect life, liberty and property against the public servants chosen and paid to guard them.

Our national government does not even know how much property it owns; makes no budget of its necessary expenditures; provides no adequate check upon the proper spending of its appropriations; never makes a balance sheet showing its true financial standing; has no system of determining whether money could have been saved or not, or whether it has been wisely expended or not; but its whole handling of the people's money is, as a rule, haphazard and utterly wasteful. If a democracy were necessarily thus inefficient as contrasted with a monarchy — or if there were some educational value to the citizens in this generally ineffective performance of public duties — there would be some compensation. But, on the contrary, the effect is to lower the standards of the citizens who are in contact with public functionaries where subordinate public positions are desirable because of the salaries obtainable without rendering service, and the higher positions

carry with them the power to distribute such sinecures to personal adherents and friends.

Every true principle of democracy — every rule of justice — may be as much outraged by constant governmental inaptness, waste and indifference in a republic as under a despotism. Incompetent rule is not respectable merely because it is democratic.

The animating theory of our government, that it embodies and expresses *justice,* rather than *power,* never was more impelling and vital than now. For, opposed to this,— in the ranks of millions of armed men fighting with all the destructive agencies which modern science can give to war,— is Treitschke's dogma that " the *state* is *power",* and that for every government weakness "is the sin against the Holy Ghost". This may serve — it long has served — for monarchs and feudal despots. It is the doctrine of Machiavelli, — that it is the duty of the Prince to succeed, and that all means are justifiable that aid success. By it the Ministers of George III defended the use against our forefathers of Indian warriors and their savage methods,— methods which seem almost humane and civilized beside the wholesale atrocities of this war between Christian nations.

And do not these barbarities recall that saying of the eighteenth century — " *Christianity* has

been tried and failed — the *religion of Christ* remains to be tried "?

Whatever other nations and peoples may do, whatever standards they may adopt or defend, America knows and can admit no final sanction for law — national or international — but right and justice.

Neutral we are, and should continue, in the ghastly welter of war that now wastes Europe. But no American should think that the nation's neutrality benumbs our moral senses or makes us indifferent to the moral questions involved in that lethal combat. We are neutral, but we cannot be indifferent to violations of treaty obligations or the law of nations, by whatever belligerent committed. Neutral, yes, but we will not be blind to the wanton destruction of homes or churches or museums of art. Neutral, yes, but we are not deaf to the cries of innocent women and children ruthlessly maimed and murdered. To be neutral is not to be insensible!

With nations as with individuals there is no substitute for moral standards — no other basis for enduring character. When any man or state has vital interests superior to the word of honor, then a spotless honor is not a vital interest of such a man or nation.

Are not the tests of truth and fidelity common

throughout the civilized world? Nay, were they not common among the primitive peoples of America and Africa and the South Seas? Wherever man has emerged from the law of the jungle, good faith is known, a promise given is kept — or broken only with dishonor. Alas! that, in this twentieth century of a so-called Christian civilization, the representative of a great and illustrious state should declare before the world that its solemn treaty is but " a scrap of paper ".

But let us remember, in humility, how many unfair treaties our government made with the Indian tribes, and then wantonly disregarded them. Our school books of American history should frankly tell of our faithlessness toward the Indians and the unjustifiable character of the Mexican War, so that succeeding generations of Americans shall be scrupulously just.

It is often said that in international relations interest is the only motive; that nations seek to establish as international law those rules that serve their interests; and that appeals to moral principles are like the old divine right of kings. But interests are certain to clash; and men and nations sometimes yield to moral demands what they would deny to a mere assertion of power. And when they yield rights to force, the controversy is not settled, but deferred with rancor.

Therefore, justice is the highest interest. The Irish question through the centuries is a sad story of power versus justice; and, if the balance were struck, how immeasurable would be found England's loss. And how fortunate is Great Britain today that she has at last done justice to Ireland! So, the transfer of Alsace and Lorraine represented the decision of power instead of justice; and what a penalty has been and will be exacted! England's generous treatment of the conquered Boers has almost redeemed the injustices of their earlier history, and made them a bulwark of strength in South Africa in this hour of peril. When Charles Sumner first proposed, in the United States Senate, that the captured Confederate battle-flags should be returned to the Southern States, many Union soldiers resented it, and thought it was sentimentalism rather than statesmanship. But afterwards they were returned; and now we know that no true victory is won over a worthy foe, except by acts of generosity and kindliness, which conquer his enmity and win his heart. Grant and Sherman knew this in 1865; but our representatives at Washington did not learn it until long afterwards.

"Might makes right" has been the rule of kings. It was a characteristic saying of the cold and cynical Voltaire that God is on the side of

the strongest battalions. A contest of mere force decides not who is right, but who is the stronger. Yet in supreme crises the moral forces are apt to play a decisive part. As John Fiske pointed out, the savage who fought to protect his family had a fiercer courage than one fighting merely for plunder or hate. A moral sentiment gives a finer temper to the weapons; it nerves the arm and quickens the brain to success over otherwise stronger antagonists. All the belligerents in the present war plainly recognize and evince this in seeking the moral support and popular favor of neutrals. All nations always wish their causes to *seem* just. America must always be sure that its cause *is* just.

The universal respect for the opinions of mankind is but a regard for those moral instincts and sentiments which ultimately control opinion; they are the natural soil in which abiding opinions grow. Even the blunt and bludgeoning Oliver Cromwell said: "What liberty and prosperity depend upon are the souls of men and the spirits — which are the men. The mind is the man." And the true heroes of history are those who first made sure for themselves, and then for their supporters, of the souls and the spirits — which are the men.

It is urged that for the state, as for the indi-

vidual, self-preservation is the first law of nature. And this is true. But this first law of nature is only the instinct of all animals — the law of mere existence. That is not the standard of a truly civilized or Christian state or of an honorable character. For them life is not first: honor and justice are first. In human history the dominant characters are strong in moral attributes — justice, courage, self-sacrifice. One William The Silent, one Washington, one Lincoln, is worth to the world, to the true progress of mankind, more than all the military geniuses who have lived or shall ever live.

> "Only the actions of the just
> Smell sweet and blossom in the dust."

There is more than a mere religious doctrine or ardor in the saying that "Whoso saveth his life shall lose it." Socrates knew that truth in its fullness, and his immortality is the proof. Sir Thomas Browne, Sir Harry Vane, and that strangely fierce and kindly fanatic, John Brown of Harper's Ferry, are familiar examples.

So with nations, the moral qualities are the enduring and preserving forces. Injustice creates and embitters enemies, as fairness and magnanimity make and retain friends. The nations and the men who have ruled and flourished in

power are warnings, not examples. The ruined cities, desolated homes, the scattered survivors of Belgium with their honor radiant, their courage unblenching, their spirit unbroken, are a surer basis for an enduring state than the myriad legions, in the irresistible panoply of war, which wrought this ruin against a plighted faith.

> "All merit comes from braving the unequal;
> All glory comes from daring to begin;
> Fame loves the state that, reckless of the sequel,
> Fights long and well whether it lose or win."

More essential than any or all other American principles or ideals is this: that the enduring state is justice, not power — power only *through justice dominating all else.* We are a nation in which all races mingle. All our citizens, themselves or their ancestors, have lived under governments founded and maintained on the doctrine of power. And though our citizens of foreign birth naturally sympathize, in the European war, with their native lands, loyalty to America requires that this sympathy shall not weaken or distort their hearts' devotion to "*that sentiment* which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but *hope to all the world for all future time*"— as Lincoln said at Philadelphia just be-

fore his first inauguration. They and we must always be Americans, without distinction or qualification; we must be true to our national ideals; and we must unitedly strive to end this awful war upon terms of peace that shall express justice rather than power. For only a righteous peace will be a lasting peace.

It is the mission of America to hasten the day when all civilized nations shall substitute reason and justice for force; when international courts of mediation and arbitration shall banish brutal war, as the personal encounter and the duello were long ago abolished for redressing private wrongs.

Honor can never be stained by the acts of another, and neither a man nor a nation can protect or redeem honor by unjust and cruel deeds.

Is not Emerson's ambition for this Republic the desire of all our hearts? "I wish to see America, not like the old powers of the earth, grasping, exclusive, narrow, *but a benefactor such as no country ever was, hospitable to all nations.* Nations were made to help each other as much as families were; and *all advancement is by ideas, and not by brute force* or mechanical force."

The mission of America is liberty and justice

— liberty *through* justice. The state and the citizen should bring every question to the test of conscience. For, in a republic, organized government is but the mortal body — the principles of human rights and a quick and constant moral sense are its immortal soul.

Welcome to the
FRENCH COMMISSION
at the Auditorium, Chicago, May 4, 1917.

WE are met to welcome, in the name of Chicago and of Illinois, these representatives of France. As citizens of a republic just entering this terrible war, we greet these citizens of our sister republic. America is bound to France by the enduring ties that began in the aid she gave us in our earliest need. We are bound to her today by ties of sympathy and admiration for the cause which her cold courage and utter devotion have ennobled.

We enter with no gaiety into this war; we enter it seriously, calmly, courageously, confidently.

We have joined France and her Allies because the moral self-respect of our nation permitted no other course. Patiently, but in vain, President Wilson sought to find some course consistent with honor that led away from war. There was no such course. His address to the Congress, on April 2, is our new Declaration, not only of American rights, but of the rights of humanity. He is the leader of every loyal citizen in this crisis. Our first duty — the duty of every true American — is wholeheartedly and unwaveringly to support

and encourage him as he bears the great burdens of this war.

This war is not of our choosing. We cannot love our country well unless we love its honor more. Its honor is justice, liberty and human rights: Justice to our citizens and to the rights and liberty of other peoples. We have entered this war to resist a ruthless assault upon this justice, this liberty and these human rights.

We are uniting to resist the force of autocracy and militarism marshaled under the banner of might. They have trampled upon the rights of mankind, and have scorned the obligations of solemn treaties and of international law. They have ignored all moral obligations that seem to conflict with military advantage. We are opposing the arms of the Central Powers because they have made unprovoked war, not only upon our ships and our cargoes, but, by their murder of our defenseless citizens upon the high seas,— innocent men, women and children,— they have made wanton war upon our nation's honor. With arrogance and contempt they have trampled on the fundamental principles, the vital purposes of justice and human rights, which are the breath of life of our Republic.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have only admiration and affection for the

fine, strong, industrious, home-loving loyal German people. We love these sturdy virtues of the German people; but we love freedom and justice more. And so do they: freedom and justice for all nations, large and small, everywhere.

Therefore, we summon up our courage; we gather all the forces of our nation — its ships and its arms, its soldiers and its sailors, its wealth of money and credit, its wealth of factory and farm and mine, its wealth of commerce and transportation and banking — we call to service and to sacrifice America's greatest wealth and power, the men and the women of America, the young and old and the middle-aged — every one who loves this starry banner of the free; and above us our Flag, like a bugle-call, rallies and unites our minds, our wills and our hearts,— the soul of America,— to wage this War against War; so that never again shall the fair fields of earth be desolated by human hands and drenched in human blood; so that peace may come for all peoples, forevermore.

For a full half century we have struggled to banish war and soften all memories of the long and deadly struggle to save our Union. We have developed and strengthened the arts of peace. We have exalted education and character, and cherished the highest ideals for men and nations.

We had supposed that the enlightenment of a Christian civilization made plain the common interests and the sacred rights of all, and thus united civilized peoples by lasting bonds of peace.

But suddenly men saw that the peace of the world would be secure only when war was no longer the plan or interest of any nation.

Now America is entering into the greatest war of all time. Its issue will determine whether governments by the people can defend themselves, and perpetuate the institutions of liberty; whether freemen will pledge their lives and fortunes as resolutely to maintain their liberties as their sires did to achieve them.

We are glad to greet the men of this Commission because they bring not so much an appeal for aid as the inspiration of heroic deeds and the call to a common consecration.

In this war we are bound to the Allies by no treaty or bargained contract, but by the stronger ties of brothers united in a holy cause. This is no mere alliance of interests, but a sacred union in the cause of liberty.

France has greatly honored us in sending to America this Commission of her illustrious sons. And we pray that to all our people may come a portion of the spirit of France; France, not only nourisher of liberty, of the fine arts, of the sci-

ences and of the refinements of life, but France the enduring, the steadfast, the brave; and that, in her spirit, we shall all consecrate ourselves to the work that the men and women of France have so nobly advanced.

France has given all. A million of her youth have kept

> "a rendezvous with Death
> On some scarred slope of battered hill,"

or

> "At midnight in some flaming town,"

and they *are* keeping it —

> "When spring comes round again this year
> And the first meadow-flowers appear."

The whole nation — from the humblest to the highest, whether in trade or commerce or agriculture, or as soldiers on the stricken field, whose valor we acclaim in welcoming their great leader, Maréchal Joffre, or as civil leaders bearing the burdens of government, here brilliantly represented by the distinguished Minister of Justice René Viviani, the head of this Commission,— all have given the full measure of devotion. Of the angels of mercy in the hospitals, of the sorrows and sacrifices and tender ministrations of the women of France, no tongue can fitly speak. The French have shown to the world, in an age that

we thought had almost lost its spirit and its soul, that the soul of France is not dead, and that a nation can give all, and lose all save honor, and yet be the greatest among all nations.

> "A name like a star, a name of light;
> A name that rings like a battle song;
> A name like a vow, a name like a prayer—
> I give you FRANCE!"

We pray that, in joining in this war, America may exhibit that soul that shall make it and us worthy to stand to the last beside France in this battle for liberty.

* * *

(In introducing Mr. Viviani):

When, nearly two centuries and a half ago, the intrepid French explorer and missionary, Father Marquette, visited this region, he came one day upon a strange band of Indians. When he inquired their name, they answered, "the Illini,—the tribe of men." From them this commonwealth took its name. In our great war it proved its title by giving to the world Lincoln and Grant. Today France, above all others, is entitled to wear that name, the nation of *men!*

As the head of this Commission France has sent us its distinguished Minister of Justice, its most accomplished orator. Any group of great

orators gathered anywhere in the world today would fitly choose as its speaker, if he were a member, the head and spokesman of the French Commission,— whom I now have the great honor to present: Mr. René Viviani, Minister of Justice of the Republic of France.

BELGIUM:

Remarks at the Dinner to the BELGIAN COMMISSION

Chicago, July 2, 1917.

NO one can do full justice to Belgium's part in this war. It is a strange fact that a little nation,—peaceful and industrious, its neutrality guaranteed by the principal powers of Europe, having no share in their ambitions and giving offense to none,—should suddenly become the vital center of the great conflict. And Belgium will be the center of that conflict until peace comes.

When the story of this awful war is written, its brightest and its saddest pages will tell of Belgium.

It was Germany's breach of plighted faith to Belgium, her ruthless invasion of Belgium, and her barbarous mistreatment and murder of innocent and unresisting Belgium citizens—scholars, priests, women and children — that shocked the conscience of mankind and condemned the German arms to everlasting infamy.

It was Belgium's prompt and complete sacrifice to her duty as a neutral and her brave stand against overwhelming force that aroused England

and gave France her opportunity for successful defense.

But for the knightly King Albert and his valorous army, Calais would have fallen, the German officers would have taken up their appointed quarters in the residences of Paris, and there would have been no glorious victory at the Marne.

Where in the records of human injustice, cruelty and shame are there crimes so pitiless and heartrending, so utterly base and fiendish, as the German outrages upon the people of Belgium? To them were added the looting and burning of her cities, the destruction of her industries, the impoverishment of her citizens, and then, down to this very hour, the deportation into slavery of her unhappy sons.

And yet how the dark pages of this record are brightened by the unbroken courage and dauntless spirit of the Belgians — their steadfast loyalty through suffering unto death!

And the bravest is the great-souled Cardinal Mercier, hero-shepherd of the wolf-torn flock. How the heart of the world will treasure the name of Mercier — Mercier, whose words and service shine like a star through the blackness of Belgium's terrible night!

The scattered survivors of Belgium, with their property gone and their homes desolate, but with

their honor radiant and their patriotism glorified by such sacrifice as no nation has made, are a surer basis for a noble and enduring state than the myriad legions in the panoply of war which treacherously wrought this ruin.

It was the atrocities in Belgium that lit the first war-fire in the heart of America. It was the spectacle of Belgium in the hands of her despoilers that made neutrality a hateful word. It was the proud, brave soul of Belgium, that did not flinch or falter in the presence of supreme agonies, that first challenged our nation's sense of justice and humanity.

Then, with the cries of her little children in our ears, with the sight before our eyes of her women put to shameful death and of all the hideousness of a ravaged country, we Americans began to ask ourselves: What does honor mean, or justice, or humanity, if we, the strong, raise not our hand against horror like this wrought upon the weak?

What are the principles of human freedom and justice which America has always professed — where is the moral integrity of our nation, where the conscience of civilized men — if we strike no blow in their behalf?

There is one word that answers every question, every objection, every doubt that may be raised as to our part in this war. That word is Belgium.

Belgium is the unanswerable proof of Germany's responsibility for this devastating war.

Belgium compels the final triumph of justice and freedom.

Belgium makes certain the overthrow of oppression and force and the end of Prussia's ruthless power.

Belgium prevents any peace without restitution and reparation. For, as surely as men love justice and a just God rules the universe, Belgium shall be vindicated and requited, and shall rise again in honor, strength and beauty.

No reparation can be made for the shameful and tortured deaths of her sons and daughters.

> "Their country conquers with their martyrdom,
> And freedom's fame finds wings on every wind."

But we Americans are pledged to see that she shall have all possible reparation — to the last stone of her ruined buildings, to the last dollar of her looted treasuries.

There are some who talk of peace. But how vain and unworthy is such talk while the Prussian fist grips the throat of prostrate Belgium!

We shall have peace — but it will be the peace of the flaming sword of justice. And the measure of the justice and righteousness of that peace will be the justice it does to unhappy Belgium.

We shall have peace when we win it from the brutal forces of autocracy. Those lean, square-jawed fighting men of our own America, who are, at this hour, near the firing-line "somewhere in France" — they and the legions to follow them from these shores — will help to bring back a just and lasting peace to us, to bleeding Belgium and to the world.

Now and then there comes to us an intimate touch of the misery that has been Belgium's daily portion for nearly three years. Recently I met a priest, lately come from many years' ministrations to that stricken people. One picture out of what he told me I shall give you, for the sheer pathos of it: "Yes, Belgium suffers", said Father Maguire, "but she is brave beyond belief, and she is very grateful to America. When the little children lisp the Lord's Prayer and come to, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' they add, 'and bless the Americans.'"

If we are ever inclined to think we have been generous to Belgium, let us remember her sacrifices — and her little children.

When this war is done and those who fought it are gone, when all the vast and terrible things of today are history, written by the hands of men still to be born, the pages of that history which will shine through the ages with the whitest and

holiest light will be those that tell the story of Belgium — the littlest of nations become, by her sacrifices and her heroism, the most illustrious. Long, long from now, when the Marne, Ypres, the Somme, and even Verdun are only dates and names, men will read the story of Belgium's crucifixion, and read it with love and with tears.

AT THE BRITISH-CANADIAN-AMERICAN ENLISTMENT MEETING

COLISEUM, CHICAGO, JULY 26, 1917 [1]

AMERICA is glad to be enlisted at last in this sacred cause with Great Britain, and especially with Canada. Related, as we are, to all nations and peoples, our closest kinship, by language and government, is with the English.

In the Revolution we Americans fought *against* Great Britain for *our* freedom. Today we fight *with* Great Britain and our other Allies for the freedom of the world. In 1812 we fought *against* Great Britain for American rights on the high seas. In 1917 we fight *with* Great Britain for the rights of *all* nations on the high seas.

Today the two nations and the two peoples see eye to eye in the presence of a common danger—in the face of a deadly foe to all popular government. We know that the hour has struck when all military autocracy must be destroyed or it will

[1] "Fourteen thousand people 'tore the roof off' the Coliseum last night for the cause of world freedom and democracy", reported the Chicago *Tribune* of July 27, 1917. "It was at the mass-meeting recruiting rally for the allied countries. * * *

The meeting was under the direction of the British and United States recruiting authorities for just one cause—men for the armies. Edgar A. Bancroft of Chicago and the Very Rev. Henry J. Cody of the St. Paul's Cathedral, Toronto, delivered the main addresses."

destroy democracy. The rule of might and the rule of justice cannot exist together. Unless the free governments of the world can now destroy this eighteenth century autocracy, the age of popular rights will end and the age of the divine right of kings will return. But it will *not* return: the cause of righteousness, freedom and justice among the nations cannot be slain by Prussian arms.

It was Goethe who said, "If you plant a tiny oak in a flower-pot, either the oak will die or the flower-pot be broken." Liberty is an oak that never dies; and not even the House of Hohenzollern can long restrain it.

Never before have our hearts been so warmed in admiration and affection toward our gracious sister and good neighbor, Canada. Like the leaves of her maple, the frosts of danger and of sacrifice have made her beautiful with the crimson glow of courage and heroic endeavor.

The bonds between her and us which have been unbroken—nay, unstrained—for a hundred years, shall be strengthened and vitalized as never before when her sons and our sons have poured out their generous blood together on the fields of France in this holy cause.

To these Canadian soldiers we extend the welcome of our hands and hearts. They are but a remnant of the brave men who sprang to arms to

defend, not the soil of Canada, not the soil of England, not the ships and cargoes of England, but the inviolability of treaties, the rights of cruelly violated Belgium, the rights of small nations — yes, and those inalienable human rights of life and liberty which the English peoples first achieved and have most widely maintained.

"For what avail
Is plow or sail—
Or land or life
If freedom fail?"

The people of this most typical American city and of the State that gave Lincoln and Grant to the cause of liberty, welcome these heroes of the last and greatest war against arrogant and cruel autocracy.

Why did those Canadians, dwelling in security three or four thousand miles from the scene of battle, offer and give their young lives to resist a despotic rule so far away? For precisely the same reason that the patriotic youths of America are crowding the training camps and answering the draft of honor today. Because they know that men are not worthy of their liberties if they are unwilling to defend them with their lives. Because they know that a nation that worships military power and scorns all moral obligations of treaties or international law, or of justice, is a

deadly menace to democracy everywhere. These young men of America are preparing to cross the sea because they know that there, and there only, can the last and greatest battle for freedom and democracy be fought and won.

The sacred cause for which so many brave Canadians have given their lives in this war is as truly our cause as theirs. The place to right the wrong is where it is done. The time to resist oppression is the earliest effective moment. That time is now, and the place is the battle front. A great conflagration covers Europe. We are not beyond its reach. The place to meet the conflagration is where it rages, and the time is *now*. Germany chose the time and the place of this war. She deliberately and wantonly chose the soil of Belgium and of France. And there the united defenders of justice, democracy and humanity must meet Germany and defeat her.

America proudly joins the Allies, to battle for the Will to Justice against the Will to Power: for political principles of liberty and justice against the false doctrine that might makes right. We are enlisted to win the peace of justice against a ruthless war of conquest and desolation.

How can there be compromise between a system of faithlessness, militarism, plunder and cruelty, on the one side, and fidelity to national obligations,

democracy and the principles of humanity, on the other?

Never were the men of America called upon to fight in a nobler, holier cause than this. It is the last phase in the age-long war for human rights and for democracy. It involves all that mankind has struggled for through centuries of oppression, suffering, blood and tears.

To say that we should not fight for such a cause and give to it all that we have and are, is to say that Washington and our Revolutionary sires — the farmers of Lexington and Concord, and the ragged, starving patriots of Valley Forge — deserve not honor but blame. It is to range one's self with those disloyal Northern men who harried Lincoln and increased his burdens throughout the Civil War. It is to say that the war for the Union and the freedom of the slave was mistaken and futile

For fifty years the soldiers of the Union Army have been the honor-men of our Republic — the young men who followed Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Hayes, Garfield, Logan and McKinley up the path of duty to eternal glory. To you, young men, today is given the opportunity and the call to be the honor-men of the years to come. To have fought for democracy in this war will be a proud distinction for you, to your family and to your

children's children. There will never be a society of the Sons and Daughters of American Slackers! — not even though they call themselves Pro-Americans! "Pro-Americanism"! There *is* no such thing. The Americanism that will not fight for America to the death is not Americanism at all. In this hour of the nation's supreme emergency, America says to all its carping critics and doubters, as Christ said to the Pharisees, "He that is not with me is against me."

Great Britain, Canada and America will unitedly prove to the world that they are as courageous, inflexible and persistent in demanding justice for others — for Belgium, for France, for Bohemia and for Poland — as for themselves.

How is justice possible, or even thinkable, unless it makes a sharp and deep distinction between Germany, the brutal and pitiless aggressor, and Belgium and Serbia and France, invaded — desolated with incredible cruelties? Tell me, ye pacifists, how justice can survive, how humanity is more than an empty name, if the fiendish brutalities inflicted by Prussianism upon Belgium and France go unpunished and unrequited. Tell me how the criminal political philosophy of Prussianism can be eradicated from Germany and the world except by destroying its ruthless power. It has appealed to the sword, and by the sword it shall perish.

The soldiers who go from the cities and plains of this free America, whether under the Union Jack or under our own starry banner, will advance to the western front to succor and save the "dearest interests of mankind" — freedom, justice, humanity — and to end forever the Prussian cruelties and brutalities of war, and abolish war itself by destroying at once the armaments and the rewards of aggression.

Did you read that when Pershing's expedition marched amid cheering thousands, through the streets of Paris, the little children knelt at the curb when the American flag passed by? THEY saw its true mission: not for vengeance, not for conquest, but for justice and for helpfulness not only to the stricken peoples of Belgium and France, but to the imperiled cause of liberty — a cause greater than any nation or any people,— liberty, the hope of the world.

It is, I say, a righteous and a sacred cause that calls you, men of Great Britain, men of Canada, men of America, to the crimson fields of France — those fields where you shall decide the destiny of democracy and of our civilization. And I charge you to remember —

"There is a glory gold never can buy, to yearn and to cry for;
There's a hope that's as old as the sky, to suffer and sigh for;
There's a faith that outdazzles the sun, to martyr and die for."

WELCOME TO THE RUSSIAN MISSION

CONGRESS HOTEL, CHICAGO, AUGUST 3, 1917

AMERICA, the oldest and most experienced republic, greets with a firm handclasp the youngest republic, Russia.[1] The veteran welcomes the recruit in the cause of Liberty.

With America democracy was a slow growth, and independence came through seven years of discouraging, heart-breaking, distressful war waged by a group of small colonies against a great empire.

In Russia democracy and independence came overnight, almost without the firing of a gun or the loss of a life. It came to a colossal nation, with an area and population greater than those of the United States and Canada combined. It came in the midst of a titanic foreign war, in which Russia's army outnumbered several times the entire population of the American Colonies.

The Russian revolution overthrew in an instant a great Slavic autocracy that had continued into the 20th century the features of a feudalistic despotism. It had a long, varied and romantic history, brilliant with the achievements of the organizing genius of Peter I and the great

[1] This was not the Soviet but the republic that it overthrew.

Catherine. These sovereigns had the abilities and vision of true empire-builders. With imperious wills, they united with a certain splendor the far-lying provinces of varied tribes and peoples. Yet, despite the political repression of all these years, Russia has attained high distinction from the work of her novelists, musical composers and painters.

For more than half a century there have been between Russia and the United States strong bonds of sympathy and understanding. Russia had her problem of millions of serfs, as we had ours of negro slaves. Alexander II freed the serfs in 1861; President Lincoln issued his proclamation of emancipation on the first day of 1863. During our Civil War Russia did two very friendly acts: In 1862 Napoleon III proposed to Alexander II that France and Russia should intervene in our Civil War, but Alexander declined. In 1863, when Great Britain and France were seriously considering the recognition of the Confederacy, a friendly visit by the Russian fleet at New York and Washington was most opportune and helpful.

The relations, however, that I have in mind are the age-long aspiration of the people of Russia for that same freedom of government which we, of America, have so long enjoyed.

The hardships, the anguish, the cruel punish-

ments and the secret deaths that advocates of Russian freedom have freely risked and suffered have appealed to liberty-loving hearts everywhere, and especially in America. For the sake of their ideals, without any prospect or even hope of benefit to themselves, they strove, through the long, sad years to win freedom for the Russian people. These numberless heroisms and the hard lot of the Russian peasants have irresistibly appealed to our sympathies. These bonds of sympathy have been increased by the great numbers of Russians who, for many years, have migrated hither as to a land of promise and opportunity. Mary Antin has vividly told their pathetic story.

This incident is worth recalling now: In the spring of 1876 the political prisoners immured in the sad walls of Peter and Paul Prison in Petrograd,— across the Neva from the Winter Palace — had, somehow, communicated to each other America's coming centennial celebration, and a plan of joining in it. Against the greatest difficulties they secretly collected, as best they could in their solitary confinement, bits of red, white and blue cloth, and sewed them together. When July 4, 1876, dawned, little American flags fluttered from the grated windows as a token of the courageous sympathy of these unfortunate prisoners.

"Eternal spirit of the chainless Mind!
Brightest in dungeons, Liberty! thou art,
For there thy habitation is the heart—
The heart which love of thee alone can bind."

The day for which liberty-loving Russians have braved all dangers, endured all hardships, suffered all agonies and freely given up their lives, has at last dawned,—Russia is free! How much closer and stronger are now the bonds of friendship between her people and ours, as our sons are preparing soon to fight with her sons to break down autocracy's last and greatest stronghold in the Central Powers!

The common ideals and principles of our two democracies are opposed and imperiled by the ignoble dogmas of Prussian autocracy.

The Government of *Germany* governs and the soldiers of Germany fight under a black flag — the banner of brute force. On that black flag are inscribed the cardinal tenets of Germany's criminal philosophy. One of these false doctrines written on that banner is: "Might makes right." Another of those legends is this: "Military necessity makes national perfidy a virtue." Another is this: "Military advantage warrants all crimes and cruelties." And the last of them reads: "The will of the Kaiser is the will of God!"

There is no war without its horrors. Civilized

nations have endeavored to soften and restrict them and to prevent those acts of war which are mere treachery and mere cruelty. Germany has defied the Hague rules of humanity.

Germany alone in this war has wreaked its fury upon noncombatants and their property. Germany alone has taken hostages and slain them. Germany alone has wantonly laid waste fields, orchards and cathedrals. Germany alone makes these needless horrors of war a part of its military system.

And why? Because they are a part of its criminal philosophy. Germany defends this philosophy, defends this military system. The fundamental law of this philosophy is the law of the jungle — the law of tooth and claw. It is not the survival of the *fittest;* it is the survival of the *fiercest.* It subordinates all that is best and finest in German history, in German life and literature, to mere organized power. It denies that in the State's business there can be any moral obligations or moral standards. In the German mind the super-man is the man that is not killed; the super-race is the race that can destroy all other races, no matter how foul and detestable the means.

These are strong statements. Do you doubt them? If you do, I cite you the Lusitania; I cite

you the joyous celebration in Germany of this unparalleled infamy.

Germany talks about her *Kultur*. Never, from the day of Cain all the way down through the red record of the Hun, the Mongol, the Moslem and our own American Apache, has any people, civilized or uncivilized, outdone in barbarity the deeds of savagery done in Belgium by the order of the German General Staff. And never before has such a scheme of perfidy, treachery and frightfulness been the result of a national policy. Never before have such deeds done by a nation's soldiers been defended by that nation's intellectuals.

It was a reason of chivalry that sent Russia into this war — chivalry that sought to stop the dual monarchy from imposing its crushing ultimatum upon poor, long-suffering, little Serbia. But there is a greater and deeper reason why Russia shall stay in this war: she *must* stay until, upon the East and upon the West, upon the land and upon the sea, the arms of world-wide democracy have triumphed over the arms of world-defying autocracy. Liberty and democracy cannot live in Russia while autocracy lives in Germany and Austria.

America, 3,000 miles away, sees in the brutal creed and brutal strength of the Central Powers a deadly menace to her own democracy. How

much more deadly that menace is to the democracy of Russia, finding its way, seeking its strength in the very shadow of that autocracy. The same hands that reached across the borders to deprive the Russian army of its munitions in the full tide of victory two years ago would just as certainly reach across that border to strangle in its cradle Russia's new-born democracy. The only hope of Russian liberty is the hope of Allied victory. The only salvation of Russian domocracy is the salvation of arms. America won her democracy by force of arms on many a bloody field and many a crimsoned sea. Russia achieved her democracy peacefully; it was revolution by resolution. Now she must help with all her strength to destroy the arrogant autocracy of her neighbor lest that neighbor destroy not only Russia's democracy but also her very national existence.

To overthrow an oppressive government is one thing. It is quite another to re-establish order on the new basis of justice and freedom. Liberty is intoxicating in the degree of the preceding oppression. Ordinarily, there is no danger in free food and drink. But to a man perishing of long-continued hunger or thirst full satisfaction means certain death. In one case as in the other, limitations are essential.

The French Revolution taught that irresponsi-

ble power may be as despotically and cruelly used by a democracy as by a monarchy. Despotism consists in an irresponsible will holding supreme power — whether that will belongs to a kaiser, an oligarchy or a popular majority.

Limitations upon the exercise of supreme power are as essential to the preservation of liberty under a democracy as under a monarchy. The American people, in adopting our Constitution, placed clear and definite restraints upon their exercise of the right to govern themselves. The experience of every democracy has proved the need of such a charter of liberty to safeguard the standard and rule of justice, and prevent democracy from relapsing to the rule of power. This was the priceless contribution which the framers of the American Constitution made to free government.

Benjamin Franklin, still the wisest and most broadly accomplished of all America's great men, while opposing in the Constitutional convention a strongly centralized government, said:

"Though there is a general dread of giving too much power to our *governors,* I think we are more in danger from too little obedience in the *governed.*"

And Lincoln said, in November, 1864:

"It has long been a grave question whether any govern-

ment, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies."

The eloquent young leader of Russian democracy, Kerensky, said a few weeks ago to a committee of soldiers and workingmen:

"An autocracy of workmen or of soldiers is as bad as an autocracy of aristocrats, and Russia must have no autocracy." "You shall have your Republic — after the war. Meantime, have the good sense to fight to retain the freedom you have won."

In the dark days that the new republic is passing through, American sympathy for Russia is deepened and American confidence in her is sustained by recollections of the dark days of our Revolution and our Civil War.

We recall how, by the dissensions of the Continental Congress, Washington's fighting force was again and again depleted, often ill fed and unclothed, until, in the winter at Valley Forge, the snows were marked with their bleeding feet, and nearly half of the little army had deserted. Nearly half the people were opposed to the Revolution and to the Constitution. The Revolution was won and the Constitution was adopted because of the standard of human liberty there raised and the utter devotion of those who followed Washington through all those trying years. They suc-

ceeded by the ardent patriotism and wise counsels of our Revolutionary fathers, but the great overshadowing cause was the devotion, the courage, the long-suffering patience and persistence of one man — George Washington.

We remember too that, in the last year of our Civil War, multitudes of men in the North declared the war a failure and insisted that Lincoln should end the bloody, fratricidal strife by a peace of understanding or accommodation, and thus leave the issue of disunion and slavery unsettled. Now we know — and thank God for it! — that Lincoln's tender heart, that so abhorred all war, did not cloud his mind or distort the plain facts.

The war for the Union was bitterly won, but the blood that it cost cemented anew the strong bonds of perpetual union that hold the people of the North and of the South. It was won because Abraham Lincoln, "with malice toward none and with charity for all", pressed forward the war with all the strength of the Union armies, to the final defeat, not merely of the Southern armies, but of the cause of slavery and disunion.

And so we, of America, holding firmly to the faith of Washington and Lincoln in a "power not ourselves that makes for righteousness", in an overruling Providence in the affairs of men, believe that free government in Russia will not fail

in this great crisis. We believe that the ideals which have made Russia free will unite her people and her armies in a spirit of devotion never shown before. We believe that, in this supreme need, there will arise the leadership which, by the courage of her armies, will make Russia and the world safe for democracy, and, by the unselfish devotion and wisdom of her statesmen, will establish free government and all the institutions of liberty under law. In this faith we welcome the members of this Mission, and bid them and their great nation Godspeed.

WELCOME TO THE BLACK WATCH!

At a British-Canadian-American Recruiting Meeting

Chicago, October 18, 1917

BRAVE men are at home everywhere. The appeal of valor is world-wide. No nation, no race, no clime, can claim heroism as its special possession; it speaks the universal language of shining deeds.

Therefore, we welcome tonight these officers and men of the world-famous Black Watch of bonnie Scotland, and its worthy namesake, the brave Black Watch of Canada. They honor and inspire America, wherever they go, for the glorious record of their heroic deeds and unflinching sacrifices upon the gory fields of Belgium and of France has preceded them. We give them the welcome of proud and grateful hearts; for we know now, if we did not then, that they and their comrades were fighting and dying for us and for our liberties. And we now hope, please God, that the sons of America will soon prove themselves worthy brothers-in-arms with these gallant Highlanders and with all those who battle against the fiendish forces of German autocracy for the civilization and liberties of the world.

We welcome these gallant soldiers as representatives of the armies of our Allies: men of daring, of constancy, of endurance, who, for three years have fought upon the Western Front for the sacredness of treaties, the rules of civilized warfare, the rights of small nations, and those inalienable human rights of liberty and justice that are the fundamental principles of America.

For three years these valiant men with their comrades of the allied armies have held for us the pass of civilization against the hordes of barbarism. And now America acknowledges her debt; now she pledges them *her full support until victory comes.*

We are in, and the shortest way out is *through.* And so a million Americans have volunteered and half a million more have answered the draft of honor and are training today to do their part in the battle for humanity and justice among all men and among all nations. They realize that the sons of a free government should be more ready to sacrifice and fight, and die, if need be, than the subjects of a military despotism. They know that a nation which worships military power and scorns all moral obligations, whether of treaties or of international law or of common humanity, is a deadly menace to civilization and to free government everywhere. They have but one thought,

one hope, one prayer,— these young Americans who have been called to arms. It is that they may go and go soon to those fields that are already hallowed by the blood of so many heroes, and there prove themselves not less valorous and heroic than these knightly visitors of the Black Watch.

There is something wrong with the head or the heart of the American who still asks why we are in this war. Every such question betokens a lack of intelligence or a lack of loyalty.

America was forced into the War. The evidence is plain and conclusive. We know, and the impartial historian will record, that Germany forced America into this war—Germany's war for the military domination of Europe and the world—which she had been planning for fifty years. Day by day the proof has become overwhelming that the Kaiser completed the plans for this war a month before it opened, and left Berlin for a cruise in the North Sea to deceive Europe, and that the United States was within the range of those plans.

For nearly three years our President's great patience, forbearance and love of peace kept our sword in its scabbard, though many eyes were blinded by tears and many hearts were hot with anger at German infamies in Belgium, France and Serbia, that violated and defied the laws of

nations, of humanity and of God. We remained at peace while German arms committed, in cold blood, unparalleled crimes — shelling Red Cross hospitals and deliberately torpedoing hospital ships filled with wounded men and their gentle, devoted nurses — ships of mercy and of peace sailing under the guaranty of the Red Cross. But Germany did not stop here. In contempt of our neutrality and forbearance she made direct war upon us. She filled our land with spies and criminals to destroy munition plants and blow up our ships. She submarined our unarmed merchant vessels and sank, without warning, passenger ships carrying American citizens lawfully traveling upon the high seas. Her murder of the defenceless and innocent passengers on the Lusitania was ruthless piracy, and nothing else. Afterward, she gave us her promise to cease that lawless warfare, and then used the time to build more submarines, to make it more lawless and effective than ever.

Germany supplied her ambassador, Bernstorff, with vast sums to bribe newspapers, Members of Congress and other prominent men, to mislead and deceive the American public and debase the "nobility of the collective soul" of America. She sneeringly scorned her treaty obligations and flouted with insolence every principle of liberty

and justice for which America stands; and finally she plotted to have Mexico and Japan make war against us.

And all this was done while we were at peace with her and were honorably preserving and enforcing strict neutrality.

What then should America do? Under such circumstances, there was no choice for an honorable nation, a nation with any self-respect, but to resent the insults and resist with its full power these brutal attacks upon its sovereignty, its property, its citizens and its honor.

And with his country thus forced into war against a brutal, powerful, cunning foe, what is the duty of a loyal American? Let the history that has glorified the name of America give us the answer.

In 1776, the true American followed Washington, gave his small savings, his service, his sons, his life, in the cause of American independence — for the freedom of the colonies. He fought, he starved, he tracked the snows of Valley Forge with bleeding feet, but he would not surrender. And the valor and sacrifices of the Americans of 1776 created this republic. That true American was English, but he pledged life and fortune against England's tyranny. He was Nathan Hale, who regretted that he had only one life to lose for

his country — not Benedict Arnold, who saved his life, but lost all.

In 1812, the true American again fought England; this time for American rights on the high seas. He was with Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, with General Harrison at the battle of the Thames, with General Jackson at New Orleans. He did not falter; he did not skulk; he made sacrifices like a true man.

In 1861-65, the true American was with Grant and Sherman and Sheridan in the Union armies, or in civil life, holding up the hands of the immortal Lincoln, so that he might save the Union and liberate the slaves.

What is the true American of 1917? His country is joined with England and her Allies in a life and death struggle to make the world free, to give to all nations, the small as well as the great, the right and the opportunity to be independent, to order their lives in freedom, and to establish the rights of all nations on the high seas, and to make justice and decency and morality, and not brutal might, the standard of international relations. Under these conditions what is the part of the true American?

In this greatest war,— this most cruel war, this most deadly war of all time, but with a cause as lofty and sacred and glorious as any for which

men have ever fought,— shall the American of today show less devotion, less courage, less willingness to give his all to save the blessings of liberty in America than his forefathers did to win those liberties? The men of 1776 set up a new standard in the world, liberty and democracy and justice and humanity,— a standard, as Washington said, to which the wise and the just may repair. The chivalrous of other nations helped to raise that standard. Lafayette, the French nobleman, left his young wife to offer his valiant sword to the American colonies. Kosciusko, the great Polish patriot and leader, bared his sword for us. Baron Steuben came from Prussia, but received his inspiration in France. The Standard then raised has been for one hundred forty-one years a beacon light to the down-trodden of the world. It has made our country the asylum of the oppressed of every race and clime.

The history of America is the story of devotion to ideals of human liberty, of human justice, of equality before the law, of the rights of the individual without discrimination as to property or race or religion. If America was worth fighting for and dying for to establish, is it not worth fighting for and dying for to maintain?

I have spoken of the true American: the American that is not true to these traditions is not an

American at all. The American that will not lend and spend his money, give his brain, his service, his life for the sake of his country is unworthy of the land that bore him or has given him a home. He is not an American in anything but name. In his heart he is the enemy of his country.

Every true American is proud of the unanimity, fine spirit and enthusiasm with which his countrymen have answered the call, the clear and righteous call of our great war President. We are proud of the million and a half, or more, of the young men of America who are in the training camps today; and of the millions of men and women who are giving their constant thought and effort to ways of helping the President and the officials in the army, in the navy and in civil life who bear the burdens of this great war. Whoever helps, in large or small, in the spirit of patriotic devotion, is a true American. Whoever, by word or act, retards or distracts the attention of the people, or makes them doubt the justice and sacredness of our cause, makes the task of the President, the army, the navy and of the Red Cross more difficult and increases the cost of the war in lives and in treasure.

With each day the rising tide of the generous and devoted patriotism of America submerges the old differences of party, of race and of opinion.

Each day we are seeing more clearly that when a nation is at war, all persons that are not for it and ready to help it in every way are against it and are encouraging its enemies.

The "free speech pacifists"! The American who prates of free speech as a protection for utterances that tend to divide or confuse the patriotic purpose of the whole country, is helping Germany, and is therefore a traitor to his country's cause.

Unfortunately, there have been a few — though only a very few — men in our public life who did not understand or intentionally obscured this vital fact. I regret to say that we have had several such representatives in the Congress from the great, loyal State of Lincoln and Grant and Logan and Palmer and Oglesby. But they are not persisting in their error, and I trust they will soon join in the great chorus of patriotic devotion to America.

And if we go staunchly and unitedly and self-sacrificingly forward, this will in due time swell into a great chorus of victory and of peace — the victory and the peace of righteousness and justice.

We all feel sorry, therefore, for the humiliation that has been brought upon the loyal people of Wisconsin by the recent disloyal utterances of Senator La Follette. No one who remembers the

record of that state in the Civil War, with Carl Schurz, General Winkler, General Bragg and of the Iron Brigade, will believe for a moment that La Follette represents the sentiment of Wisconsin. I mention him because his offense is conspicuous and he persists in his disloyalty.

Because he is a prominent member of the United States Senate of long service his words and acts are given an importance in this country,—and doubtless a still greater importance in Germany,—they would not otherwise receive.

His speech at St. Paul, now under investigation by a Committee of the United States Senate, directly criticised and assailed the President and the Congress in declaring a state of war and in passing legislation to support our army and navy. It was the sort of a speech for which Bernstorff, if he had been here, would have gladly paid liberally. Whatever effect it had, it was to weaken the moral support of our people in this war; and the moral support is just as essential as the material support, as every one knows.

What is the conclusive answer to any charge of disloyalty? Acts and words of patriotism and loyalty. What was Senator La Follette's answer in his speech of two hours in the Senate? Not one word of devotion toward his country and the Government in this crisis; not one word of repro-

bation of the criminal and barbarous acts of Germany; not one word of sympathy with the sufferings and crucifixion of wholly innocent Belgium; not one word of sympathy with the millions of our Allies, who, on land and sea, have fought the battle for us until now; not one word of praise or encouragement for American soldiers now in France or for the million and a half who are in our training camps!

And now he asks the Senate's Sub-Committee for a bill of particulars, like an indicted criminal.

When he entered the United States Senate, he took a solemn oath to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic" and to "bear true faith and allegiance to the same." Yet he, holding one of the highest offices in the Government, seems to think that there is one rule of loyalty for the young soldier in the camp and the ordinary citizen and a different and lower standard for Senators and Representatives.

Senator La Follette permits us to draw but one conclusion:— that he is too supremely selfish to be a patriot and too cowardly to be a traitor.

We should quickly subscribe for Liberty Bonds. America is in this war for no selfish purpose. She counted well the cost before she entered it. But the cause is greater than any possible cost: the

sacred cause of freedom, of justice, of humanity for nations and for men, the cause of peace against the cruelties and brutalities of war. America has entered this war to save this cause and to abolish war itself by destroying the armaments and the rewards of aggression.

The soldiers and sailors, the youth of America, are doing, will do, their full part. Every day men of Great Britain, of Ireland, of Canada, resident in the United States, are rallying to the Union Jack, as our sons are training under our flag. Together they will fight to save democracy, not only in France, Great Britain and America, but save democracy to the world; save it, as they surely will, for Germany herself.

The immediate thing that we can all do and should do to the very limit of our ability is to save our money and lend it to the Government to support our soldiers and sailors. It is a small thing to ask of us; it is the least that a patriotic citizen can do. But our subscriptions have a double value if they are large, prompt and enthusiastic. This is not giving to our country: it is buying the best security in the world with a liberal rate of interest.

The children in the schools of France have been an inspiring example of devotion to country. In 1792, when France was in the throes of war, school

after school, led by its teacher, appeared before the General Assembly in Paris and offered its little savings of twenty or thirty or fifty francs with words of flaming patriotism spoken by one of the children. In the present war, during the last three years, the school children of France have come forward with six million francs for their Liberty Loans, and have paid over a quarter of a million francs in gold coins taken from their little savings banks. One gift of two gold coins came to the Bank of France from three little girls, ten, eight and six years old, with this appealing letter:

"Argenteuil, July 23, 1915.

Mr. Director of the Bank of France,

It is with great pleasure that my two sisters and I *have broken open our little joint moneybox,* for I must tell you that we thought very much of it, especially since the beginning of the war, for this moneybox reminds us of a great event. *When our father went away* on the second day of the mobilization, he went *with great courage, but we shed many tears on seeing him go, our dear papa. To give us a little courage, he put into our moneybox, where there was nothing very much, a gold* 20 *franc piece and another of* 10 *francs, telling us to keep them as a souvenir of him.*

Really, I assure you, my sisters and I were glad to see these pretty coins again, and, *in spite of all the pleasure we should have felt to keep them, we send them to you, for we know now that gold is the main sinew of war, and that the more gold we have, the more shells we shall buy to drive*

away more quickly the savage Boches who have come to kill our fathers and brothers. We hope you will accept these two coins, for our father will certainly be very pleased with our action.

Long live France and her Allies, and may victory soon come!

Three little French girls,

(Signed) Pauline, Esther, Gabrielle."

On October 23, 1916, M. Painlevé, then Minister of Public Instruction, but today the Prime Minister of France, issued an appeal to the French schools and school children to subscribe for France's Liberty Bonds. In it, he said:

"He who is capable of subscribing to the loan and does not subscribe is a deserter: he abandons his brothers at the front. Far from shortening the war, as an infamous movement claims, he prolongs it: If he does not rob us of victory, which can no longer escape us, he makes her approach more slow and sanguinary."

At the little village of Plemeleuc a peasant, when asked to subscribe by the school mistress, answered, "What have *you* done?" And the school mistress replied, "Since we have been at war I have not spent a penny on a hat, a dress, anything. Last year's hat must do just as it is for this winter, for *I prefer to give a soldier a gun than to buy myself a dress.*"

And the school teachers of France have written

songs and poems to aid the cause. One concludes thus:

"For our sous will be converted into guns and shells
To slay the slayers of our brave children
And to save us many tears over their graves."

This is another song with which the children's voices help to fill the treasury of France:

"We do not take your gold from you, we change it for you,
If you were conquered the enemy would take it.
To keep it for William is a strange investment . . .
Quick! go and fetch it from the strong box.

Gold is a weapon: it is an arm we need,
To hunt down, strike and expel the German;
Hide it, and you help your enemy against you;
Deprive our soldiers of it, and you meanly betray them."

Upon the wall of every school in France today is a poster in these words:

"People of France, your soil is profaned by the invader.
"What have you done, what are you doing today, what will you do tomorrow to liberate her?
"ANSWER THE DEAD, WHO ASK YOU."

This is the final word. It embraces all. The brave Belgian soldiers who freely gave their lives to halt the ruthless, faithless German hordes in August, three years ago; the invincible French who hurled back the barbarous invaders in the battle of the Marne; the staunch British soldiers from

England and Ireland, from Wales and Scotland, and from the colonies beyond the seas; the thirty thousand and more chivalrous Americans who offered their lives in the Canadian and French ranks or in the flying corps; yes, all the valorous men on land and sea who have given their lives in opposing the criminal military system of Germany since this war began,— have died for the liberties of this country as well as for their own. They are all heroes in this final battle for freedom, for justice, for moral standards and for humanity.

Therefore, the message to the children of France is equally a message to us:

"Americans, the honor of your country has been grossly assailed. The lives of its innocent citizens — men, women and children — have been cruelly taken. The life of your nation and the cause of democracy are at stake."

"What have you done; what are you doing today; what will you do tomorrow — to save them?

"What have you done; what are you doing today; what will you do tomorrow,— to support and save the brave youth of America who go forth to fight for you?

"Answer the heroic dead and the heroic living, who ask you."

THE IMPLEMENT-MAKER AND THE WAR

ADDRESS AT THE 24TH ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE NATIONAL IMPLEMENT AND VEHICLE ASSOCIATION AT CONGRESS HOTEL, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 19, 1917.

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I shall not attempt,— and I am sure you do not expect me to attempt,— to point out to the implement-maker that he has a different relation to this war from that held by his fellow citizens, at least as regards those essential duties, those important relations, that go with a crisis like this.

The two primary essentials of war are arms and food. Munitions of war usually are given the first place. Their need is the more obvious. Very often the question of food is deferred, its importance is underestimated; but soon it is seen to be as important as arms and munitions.

There is a story cherished by one branch of the McCormick family, that many years ago when Robert McCormick announced his engagement to Miss Medill, a friend came to Joseph Medill of the *Tribune* and asked: "Is it true that your daughter is to be married to the son of one of the reaper-makers?" Mr. Medill replied: "Yes, and I am proud of it, for in the Civil War the McCormick

reapers were worth 100,000 men to the Union Army."

Some years ago Seth Low told me of visiting the country place of Mr. Loubet, then President of France. When the visitor saw a number of American harvesting machines and expressed some surprise, the President answered: "Yes, those American machines are the support of the standing army of France; but for them we could not send the young men into our training camps and at the same time feed them and our civilian population."[1]

[1] On Oct. 8, 1918, I met by chance Chief Justice White, who greeted me very cordially and then said:

"I have something to tell you. When Marshal Joffre was here [Washington, D. C.], I had him at my house for dinner, and in the course of the dinner I said: 'I do not see how France is to live after this war. The flower of the nation, almost all the men of the smaller cities and villages, and particularly of the country, have been killed or disabled. Only the men in the munition plants have escaped, and they are of the city population that know nothing about agriculture.'

"'I am surprised that you understand so accurately our situation in France,' said the Marshal. 'That is just the case, but *you* will save us.'

"We will save you? How? You mean the people of the United States?"

"'No,' he replied, 'I mean your great agricultural implement manufacturers: they will send over their farm machines to plant and harvest our grain, so that one man can do the work of three.

"It was very extraordinary," continued the Chief Justice, "to hear him enthusiastically tell what American manufacturers of farm machinery had done for France and would do for it after

Both statements were true. And in the war — this terrible, ghastly, heart-breaking war — that has been waged for three years, American implements and the women of the stricken countries have largely taken the place of men.

In Germany the conservation of food was seized upon at the very beginning without waiting for the need. In England it was not done so promptly nor so efficiently; they waited until the pinch came.

In Russia, strangely enough, the question of bread finally became the active cause or occasion of the revolution that dethroned the Czar. Munitions and food for the Russian army were handled by the Czar's government in an incompetent way, due partly to corruption and partly to pro-German influences. It was so badly done that there was a voluntary organization, formed of the city and the county officials, called the National Union of Zemstvos, who took up the work, giving special attention to clothing and feeding the soldiers. It did this so well that it soon had the trust and confidence of the armies of Russia in the field. Although Russia produces more wheat than the United States, and has more arable land — all as fertile as Illinois prairies — the Government

the war. Why, Marshal Joffre made your very argument,— and that was while your Harvester case was under advisement! " — E. A. B.

handled the food supplies so badly that there were bread-riots in Petrograd and Moscow. As a result of these the revolution came over-night, almost without the firing of a gun or the loss of a life. The revolution succeeded, with its momentous consequences,— consequences that the world has not yet begun to measure, and which day by day we attempt to forecast with great foreboding.

Already there has appeared to the world, and particularly in the sight of America, a picture of the dangers of liberty not protected by law and of the essential requirements of free government; not only of good impulses, not only of high principles, not only of love of freedom, but an appreciation that liberty cannot live except in institutions; that it can give and continue its blessings only under law. As the motto reads upon the courthouse in Worcester, Massachusetts, "Obedience to law is liberty"; and law is "the uttered conscience of the state."

Russia has held up before us the fact that freedom has a certain dangerous power that may be self-destructive. We have seen portrayed there in a vivid and frightful way the demonstration that, in spite of their theoretical inconsistency, there is no difference whatever in the results between certain kinds of socialism and absolute

anarchy. The socialists there are claiming that the government should do everything, but they have denied to the Russian government the power to do anything — even the power to defend itself.

* * * * * *

But Russia presents another aspect, one that as implement-makers you are all familiar with. The peasants of Russia are securing a wider view of life. By the contacts of the war and of the Zemstvo Union they have had their minds opened and their intelligence quickened. They have already obtained an outlook on the world that they never had before. With that intelligence will come a greater ambition, a greater appreciation of the methods by which the soil is tilled to a greater advantage; and the implements are going to be of greater value to the farmers. Some of you have seen the Russian peasant standing before a window where some machine was on exhibition. The peasant will stand gazing at the machine though it is not in motion and he has not the slightest idea of its nature. If there were a sign there explaining it, he could not read it. Yet machinery has a strange fascination for them all. What then will they do with farm machinery in the days after the war,— these peasant farmers upon those great expanses of fertile fields? What will they, with

their broadened intelligence, do with these machines? That is what the war will mean to the implement-makers of America when the sad days are past.

But we are in the war; we are facing a different situation. We are dealing with the emergency of the present. Your convention here, I am sure, has canvassed all the duties that await you, all the opportunities that are presented to you now by these war conditions.

You realize, as every American will soon realize, that business is not to be carried on, as it was attempted in England in the beginning, with the sign "Business as usual." The English are sometimes slow to learn, and they certainly were slow when the war began; but it must be said that they have learned; they learned their lesson and they have followed it through with a staunchness and steadiness and a determination that it would be well for us to imitate.

You have declared, and your President has well stated, the fundamental duty of the American implement-maker in this war. His duty is to serve the government; to make all the machines that are needed;— to make them in abundance; so to handle his factory as to be fair to his workmen, while preserving due discipline, and to increase production; to deal with the public with honor in

the quality and in the price of his goods; and to recognize, as the resolutions you adopted have recognized, that a government at war has claims upon every citizen, upon his action, upon his speech, upon his whole conduct, such as it does not have in time of peace. You have come forward like patriotic Americans and have said to the government: "Our industry is at your service; you may say what you wish us to do; you may name the prices you wish us to charge; you may examine the industry and say what is fair, and that will suit the implement-maker of the United States."

For three years the contribution of the implement-maker of America to the war in Europe was in farm machines. If they could speak, what stories of heroism those implements of tillage and cultivation and seeding and harvesting upon the fertile fields of Belgium and France could tell — of the brave Belgians facing a ruthless and perfidious foe, and heroically halting the Huns until help came from across the Channel; of chivalrous and invincible France, that at the Marne hurled back the invaders, and has defeated them to this very hour. There were sacrifices of men and women; deaths of little children; cruelties and infamies that cannot be told. And, alas, the only contributions of America, beside the food for

starving Belgium, were the munitions of war and the implements, both of which were sold!

But, thank God, America has now taken her place in the ranks of liberty's defenders. America now comes to the rescue of those brave men who for three years have held the pass of civilization against the barbarous hordes of Germany. Now America knows that the men who have been fighting and dying there have been fighting and dying in her behalf as well as in their own. America knows that the banner which the German army carries is the black banner of autocracy and might, and against it our starry banner has always fought and will fight till victory comes.

* * * * * *

The determined purpose of America is showing itself day by day in a way that must make every one of us feel proud that we are Americans. It has emerged from a condition of uncertainty, division and doubt with which we struggled for three years. With bitter tears and hot anger many Americans saw the wrongs inflicted upon Belgium; saw treaties broken and all that could disgrace the name of man done as a matter of system by those invading, barbarous hosts. But at length our great President, notwithstanding his patience, his forbearance and his love of peace, was forced to give way, and to face the situation:

there had been not only a technical insult to the sovereignty of the United States, but there had been a gross and studied affront to the honor of our nation; the lives of its citizens had been taken; its principles had been flouted; its very standing as a nation of moral, upright, justice-loving men and women had been scorned as weakness. At last, under that challenge, we answered in the clear and ringing tones of President Wilson's speech to Congress last April. Then America arose, and day by day the tide of patriotism has swelled, submerging all the difference of party, of faction, of business or class or religion, everything that could divide us. We know that America united with a common purpose is invincible.

Oh, we are not implement-makers; we are not lawyers; we are not bankers; we are not farmers; we are not implement-dealers; we are not coal-operators; we are not coal-miners; we are not steel-makers; we are not laborers: we are Americans who stand for this sacred cause, dedicating ourselves to it and forgetting everything else. We shall stand together until victory comes.

And with victory will come peace. This is a war not merely to overthrow the arch enemy, the destroyer of free government, but it is a war to overthrow war. We fight for peace, but we do not stop to talk of peace until we achieve it by victory.

What can we do? The youth of America have answered; one and a half million of them eagerly await their opportunity to take their place in the trenches beside the brave sons of France and Great Britain, and prove, if they may, coming even at this late hour, that they are not unworthy to bear a part and have a place in this holy war for liberty and justice. They wish that they may go and go soon to do their part, and take their share of wounds, of sickness and of death.

We who cannot bear that part in the sacred cause, what shall we do? Just now we are talking about a Liberty Loan. What a small thing that seems beside the sacrifice of life! What a small thing that seems beside the sacrifices that have been made by Belgium, by France, by Russia, by England and her colonies! Our good neighbors on the north, with a scant 8,000,000 population, have already volunteered 700,000 men, of whom 300,000 have fought in France and made the name of Canada a badge of glory. As I heard General White say last night, there is not a line or a letter of a law in Great Britain or in Canada under which any Canadian was bound to take up arms in this war! They volunteered. And so our young men have volunteered.

Is it not our duty — and shall we not promptly meet it? — to take this Liberty Loan to the limit

of our ability? There are two standards of measurement; one is the amount, and that is the insignificant one; the other is the spirit and heart that go with our purchases of these bonds. Tolstoi was once in a conference for the relief of a famine-stricken province in Russia. When asked what was the best thing to do for their relief, he answered: "Give them love." When surprise was expressed he said: "Yes, give them love. Bread is sometimes given where love does not go with it, but love is never given unless bread goes with it."

These young men who have gone already — I like to remember that there were 30,000 American youths who were fighting in the trenches and in the flying squadrons of France before we declared war! — the Americans who have gone and the men who are to go, need guns, and they shall have them; and munitions, and they shall have them; and clothing, and they shall have it; and food, and they shall have it in abundance. But they need yet more, every day of their absence — the moral support and constant encouragement of the whole people of the United States. If we give them that, they will have all of these other things. And all these other things without that will leave them lacking in that fine spirit of courage and confidence that may on some day mean the difference between an early and a later ending of the war.

WHY WE ARE IN THE WAR

An Address at the Eighth Annual Harvester Club Dinner, Auditorium Hotel, January 31, 1918

MR. TOASTMASTER, Brothers in the Harvester family and our guests — who are Brothers for this evening at least:

Our friend from the "Lady of the Snows" said something about settling war by arbitration which I am afraid some of you may misunderstand. He could not mean that this war is to be thus ended, for he comes from the city of Yorkton. While it is slightly different, that is really the name of the town in this country where our War of the Revolution was settled with England; and it was not decided by arbitration, except the arbitration of the cannon and the sword. That is the only kind of arbitration that will settle this war. When a big bully goes down the street attacking unarmed men and women and little children, when he uses brass knuckles and vitriol and lays waste a peaceful neighborhood with the torch, there is one answer that bully understands and only one: the knock-out blow in the face. That is the answer which Germany awaits, and will in due time receive.

Why are we in this war? The question can be answered in six words and they are these: "Belgium", "France", "Lusitania", "German perfidy" and "Autocracy"; and then two other words complete the answer — "TO WIN!"

Belgium — peaceful, prosperous, unoffending — had done nothing to earn the enmity of any nation on earth. Its independence, its neutrality and its safety had been guaranteed by a solemn treaty to which Germany was a party. Flouting that treaty as a scrap of paper, and in defiance of law and right, Germany marched the greatest army raised in the world to the boundary of Belgium and demanded leave to pass through Belgium in order to attack France, and Albert, the great king of a little country, answered: "Belgium is a nation, not a highway."

And for her fidelity and courage, these modern Huns made Belgium desolate with wanton burning and looting and murders and crimes unspeakable, and then Germany followed up these crimes with starvation and deportation into slavery, but the brave Belgian spirit is still unbroken and Germany has lost her honor and her soul in robbing Belgium of everything else.

France — chivalrous France, that gave us Lafayette and aided us with her ships, her men and her millions when our life as a Republic

began — France is the second answer to the question, Why are we in this war? The army of France under Joffre, after retreating almost to the gates of Paris, held the barbarous hordes of Germans and hurled them back across the Marne and has been pushing them back ever since. From that day to this the German arms have won no victories by valor; their victories have been only by treachery and against inferior forces. Northern France was ravaged and laid waste with calculated cruelty and barbarity, sparing neither age nor sex, as in Belgium.

The Lusitania is the third reason why America is in this war. We were at peace with Germany. We had declared and had observed strict neutrality — and Heaven knows that was hard enough after the crucifixion of Belgium — yet Germany, in defiance of our rights under international law and the solemn Hague conventions, torpedoed the Lusitania and murdered more than one hundred American citizens, men, women and little children — an act of brutal piracy and nothing else. And in the morning paper today was printed the message from the foreign office in Berlin to the German Embassy at Washington, sent on April 29, 1915, in these words:

"Warn the Lusitania passengers through press not voyage across the Atlantic."

Eight days later the Lusitania was sunk; thus the murders were planned and were deliberately done. It was the act of a cowardly assassin striking in the dark the defenceless and the innocent. It was not an act even of honorable war, but a defiance of the rights of America and her people with whom Germany was at peace.

The sinking of the Lusitania was but one of many offenses against American ships, American cargoes, American citizens journeying lawfully on the high seas. It was another part of her criminal policy to torpedo Red Cross hospital ships and relief ships carrying food to the starving Belgians whom Germany had impoverished.

"German perfidy" perhaps contains the greater part of the reasons why we are in this war. Not only by her conduct but by the words of her military and political writers Germany keeps her promises only when she deems it to her advantage. All her treaties are but "scraps of paper", all her moralities as regards national conduct are purely a question of expediency. For a generation or two her writers have said that the power of a state was the measure of its right; that might not only makes right, but *is* right. The rest of the world thought these doctrines were but the vaporings of the vainglorious; but they represented the accepted criminal philosophy of Germany. What

wonder, then, that she violated all treaties and all laws and all moral obligations! When the United States called her to account for her submarine piracy, Germany promised to discontinue it, and then used our forbearance to hasten her preparations for renewing that lawless practice with greater power.

While we were still at peace with her she filled our country with spies, blowing up factories and placing bombs upon the ships carrying our merchandise. Her ambassador, while received as an honorable guest of the nation, used his opportunities to bribe public men and newspapers in order to mislead our people and debase the nobility of the collective soul of America. Germany also planned to have Mexico and Japan make war upon us. All this was done while we were at peace and observing strict neutrality.

The conduct of Germany in this war has supplanted "Punic faith" with a more expansive description of national treachery and baseness, "Prussian faith." Germany forced America into this war by the use of every means that a nation without honor, without conscience, without scruple, without any regard for the rights of others could exert against a friendly nation. She made it impossible for the United States to stay out of the war and maintain honor or any moral self-respect.

How absurd, then, it is to talk about a negotiated peace! We have had the promises of Germany and they are worthless. Only when we win a victorious peace will there be a just and a lasting peace.

Germany and Austria declared war to crush their neighbors and to steal their property; dishonestly claiming a defensive war, they have waged it aggressively with a brutality unknown since the middle ages. They have never suggested peace on any terms except to keep what they have stolen.

Autocracy and democracy are in a death grip. This war will end the one or the other. Germany is dedicated to power and the rule of a military house; America is dedicated to liberty and the rule of justice, and during her whole history she has been devoted to that cause. She has been the hope and the haven of the oppressed of the world.

Prussianism is a

> "Horrid god, besmeared with blood
> Of human sacrifice and parents' tears."

How well President Wilson has stated the issue in his addresses that have shed new luster on American statesmanship! "We ask for ourselves no more than we ask for the rest of mankind. We ask only that the rights of small and weak nations

shall be regarded as scrupulously as the rights of nations that are large and strong. We ask only that a nation shall be allowed to live its life in freedom, undisturbed and unafraid of its greater neighbors."

I found the other day these words of Thomas Paine, written February 14, 1776:

"The cause of America is, in great measure, the cause of mankind . . . The laying a country desolate with fire and sword, declaring war against the natural rights of all mankind, and extirpating the defenders thereof from the face of the earth, is the concern of every man to whom nature hath given the power of feeling."

It was to this appeal that France answered America in 1776. And it is to a like appeal that we answered France in 1917, and will still further answer France and Belgium in 1918.

Prussianism is the opposite and the menace of all that America stands for; of all the principles that Americans cherish; of all the liberties and human rights which America has made sacred. The Central Empires have drawn the sword to vindicate their false and criminal political philosophy. Until that sword is broken, until that brutal power is crushed, the cause of democracy is not safe in the world.

And, finally, we are in the war — TO WIN!

We must win this war not because our cargoes

have been destroyed, our citizens brutally murdered, the honor of our nation again and again insulted until longer forbearance was impossible: but because the life of democracy is at stake and must be saved. For in the cause of democracy are bound up the liberties and the hopes and the rights of mankind.

We are in the war to win so that martyred Belgium shall rise again in dignity, in power, in glory and in the deserved admiration of the world.

We are in this war to win so that we may show our appreciation of the matchless spirit of France and repay in generous measure the deep debt that we owe her. At the end of this war I hope we shall cancel every debt that she owes us. Such a gift would not be greater relatively than was her gift to the United States one hundred and forty years ago.

We are in this war to win so that our young men, and all our people, may know and share the sublime spirit of devotion that has sustained France in these last years of agony — a courage that has never blanched and that, with our help, shall have its reward in the rebuilding of cities and fields laid waste in wantonness, so that they bloom again with spires and vines and orchards of beauty.

We are in this war to win so that it may be

settled for all time that aggressive warfare by military autocracy is unprofitable as well as disreputable; and when this is established, war will cease.

We must win this war, in the fine phrase of President Wilson, to "make the world safe for democracy"; so that men in other countries may enjoy those blessings of free institutions that the millions who have come to America have enjoyed through all these years. The war must be won in order to keep America free, and to make freedom possible everywhere in the world.

To that end America entered this war, and until that end is accomplished America will remain in the war.

We know that some of those stars upon that service flag of the Harvester Company that represent our brave youth will not always be there. But we know that if they fade from that service flag they will shine again with new luster upon the azure field of this our Country's flag.

REMARKS ON FLAG DAY

At the McCormick Works, Chicago, June 14, 1918, Noon [1]

COMRADES of the International Harvester Company — comrades in this war for freedom:

As we meet today to pay honor to that flag, our thoughts turn to the young men of America who are fighting in France. They are proving their loyalty to that flag. They are showing to the world, at the hazard of their lives, how dear that flag is to all true Americans.

While that starry banner belongs wholly to us, it represents a cause, and the youth of America are fighting for a cause that is greater than America — the freedom of the world.

I was much impressed by Mr. Hardingh's address — not by what he said, for I do not understand Polish, but because so many of you responded with enthusiasm to its patriotic appeal. You men of Polish blood know what the ruthless rule of Prussianism means. America resists the German arms because they are the oppressors of mankind, the enemies of human rights, the de-

[1] Four thousand men and a few women came from the shops. The platform was on top of a McCormick Header-Thrasher.

stroyers of liberty. The cause of Poland is the cause of Belgium, the cause of France, the cause of Serbia, the cause of Russia — poor, dismembered, shattered Russia, betrayed, deceived and trampled upon! And it is the cause of the United States. We know now, though we did not know at first, that if brutal, criminal Germany is permitted to grind beneath her heel the nations of Europe, even the small nations, America cannot long be free. And we are fighting and will fight to the end to overthrow the German oppressor. In saving the liberties of America we shall help to save the liberties of the world.

But how can you and I have a part in this righteous, this sacred cause? We cannot go to France. But the Government recognizes that the work we are doing here in these factories of the International Harvester Company is important and helpful to the winning of this war. It is important because, after their arms and munitions, the fighting men must be well fed, and the peoples of our Allies must be well fed; and the machinery here being made helps to increase the food supply for the soldiers and sailors and the people of our Allies. The more farm implements we can make and the better farm machinery we can supply, the more we show our loyalty to that flag and our devotion to the men who carry it on the bloody

fields of France. But we can do more than this, and if we are true Americans we will do more than this. By our every word, our every act, our every thought we will do our utmost to hold up the hands of our great President as he marshals all the forces of our country to win a victorious peace.

This day is set apart to show honor to our flag because it is the symbol of American liberties and of the rights which we Americans believe belong to all men. For 142 years, wherever that flag has floated, on land or sea, it has been a sign and token of freedom and of the rights of the people. Under its folds fundamental human rights have been protected equally for us all. It has been always the banner of liberty, waving a welcome to the oppressed of other lands. Many of you came from other shores, and remember with emotion the hour when you first saw the American flag waving above you in your new-found home. But whether we came to America from some other country or whether we were born here, that flag is equally our flag. It equally guards us all. It calls upon us all alike to be loyal to it and to the principles which it embodies, in every act of our lives.

Therefore, whenever that glorious emblem passes by, or is given to the breeze as it was a moment ago, and whenever the "Star-Spangled

Banner" is played or sung, we all stand with bared heads as an act of honor, of loyalty and of gratitude. Let us remember that it is for that flag that the sons of America are preparing and are ready to give their lives at the battle-front; for it they are fighting and dying. And until this war ends in a victorious peace let us all, whenever we salute the flag, offer up a fervent prayer in our hearts for the men over there, for their success and for the final victory. Let us be true to the flag and to them, so that, when they return — and with them Meyering, who has already shown himself a hero, and Mr. Brooks' son and all the other Harvester boys — when they return bearing this banner in triumph, they can greet us as those who, at home, stood behind them with all that we have and all that we are. Thus, and thus only, can we have even a small share in this war for humanity. Thus, and thus only, can we prove our loyalty to the flag of our country.

Let us all again salute the flag.

SALUTE TO THE FLAG

Flag of our great Republic—
Symbol of human liberty,
Inspirer in battle,
Guardian of our homes—
Whose stripes and stars

Stand for courage, purity and union,
We salute thee!
We, the children of many lands,
Who find rest and safety
Under thy folds,
Give our hands, our heads
And our hearts to thee:
We pledge our lives
And sacred honor
To guard and revere thee
And our beloved country,
Forever.

And as we are Americans we will keep that pledge!

THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES

A Speech at a Dinner given by Marshall Field & Company to the National Association of Dry Goods Merchants, Chicago, May 27, 1918

Mr. John G. Shedd, presiding.

Mr. Kilduff, Toastmaster.

The Toastmaster: Gentlemen, among the men of the Chicago bar, I count none whose private and public life has a truer ring or whose heart and brain beat and act together in greater unison for all that is best and ideal for national welfare than those of Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft, and I look optimistically forward to the time when the Government and the governed will be of the Bancroft type. God hasten that day!

MR. BANCROFT: Mr. Shedd, Mr. Kilduff, Gentlemen of the National Retail Dry Goods Association:

I appreciate warmly the courtesy and the honor that Mr. Shedd has done me in inviting me to meet you here tonight. A mere lawyer in this presence, if called upon to give an account of himself, is almost as much embarrassed as that old darkey suddenly surprised late at night in a chicken house. The owner, appearing in the darkness, called out, "Who's here?"—silence. "Who's

here?''—and the darkey in a very modest voice answered, ''Nobody but just us chickens.''

Mr. Reynolds, however, has taken me into the family of business men by including in your important ranks the grocery business, because I am a graduate of the grocery business; and when Mr. Reynolds was describing that dry goods store which his father bought for him, I recognized everything as a part of the supplies of the store in which I worked, except the calico. The early beginnings of business men are of great interest. In my particular case, however, my father didn't buy the store for me, but he directed my attention to other things to avoid selling his store.

The prospect which Mr. Reynolds has pointed out to us that in the near future we must really begin to learn to save must have given a chill to the host of the evening. Just imagine a New Hampshire Yankee, trained up there in those hills, being told that he will now have to learn to save! If he does, it certainly will be an example to all the rest of us.

I am asked to talk to you, and think aloud with you, on ''The Spirit of the Times.'' I do not know if any of us yet feel and realize the spirit of the times in which we live. I remember as a boy, and in early manhood, in the years following what was then the greatest war of all history, that

it was, above all things, a misfortune to have been born so late as to have had no appreciation of and no part in that wonderful struggle for union and for human rights; and all the years since then we of America have looked back to it as a time of chivalrous endeavor, a time when men counted their possessions, their ambitions, their prospects as nothing; deserted their farms, and their shops, and their stores to risk and lay down their lives for a cause that they regarded as sacred, a cause which meant to them an ideal of human rights and liberty, and for a race which they knew only as an unfortunate race, a race that had not received justice in America. And we have wondered, many of us, if we should ever come to a time when we could feel the spirit that was the spirit of the North in those days of the Civil War.

There have been wars since, but not one that touched us as a nation, not one that appealed to us to make the sacrifices that glorified that War, not one that reached out and took hold of all that was in us, all that we held dear, all that we sought to achieve as individuals and as a nation. But today we are in the beginning of participation in such a war. No, not *such* a war; but a war as much more fundamental in its issue, a war as much more glorified by its purpose and its aim as the War for the Union and Emancipa-

tion surpassed in its magnitude and its chivalrous purpose the War of the Revolution.

America and the whole world had come to believe that war on a gigantic scale was impossible. They thought the mere cost of a modern war would prevent it. They thought that the deadliness of the weapons that modern science produced would make it brief, if not prevent it. They thought that the forces that would be involved would be so vast and that the world was so filled with the spirit of democracy and humanity that the tragedy of such a war would prevent it — and yet how blind, how unknowing, we were, the whole world was!

And when the War began, our blindness still continued. We did not see that the challenge of an aggressive war could not be ignored when made by a nation which declared that treaties were scraps of paper; that disregarded all the restraints of humanity and decency; that dealt with the defenseless, the weak and the innocent as if they were armed and resisting soldiers; that treated neutrality as belligerency; that treated international law and its restraints as mere obstacles only for those who saw fit so to regard them — and that made the mailed fist and the conscienceless sword its sole basis of right in the world.

We did not see that when such a force was aggressively asserted and ruthlessly employed, trampling on the rights of the women and children and the non-combatant population of Belgium and Serbia and Poland — we did not see that such an act challenged the fundamental principle of the Declaration of Independence, the fundamental principle of our Constitution, the fundamental principle of our Republic, and declared in our face that there are no rights except such rights as power asserts and power can achieve.

We see it now, and into the War we have entered. But we do not yet see, we do not yet feel, we do not yet know, that the price of our blindness, the price of our failure to feel that the cause of Belgium and of Serbia was our cause, and that the fight that France was making to save her people and her soil from the invasion of the barbarians, and the fight that England was waging with what Germany called "her contemptible little army", with Australia and Canada coming willingly to her support, was a cause being fought by them as much for us as for themselves! We only partly know it now, but day by day we realize more and more that a wrong to one free nation, if it goes unrebuked and unrequited, is a wrong to every free nation.

The spirit of the times! Ah! how fine the spirit

that first shone radiant and dauntless in the youth of America! I like to remember that long before the American Government knew what this war involved, and what our duty was, long before we Americans realized what the contest was and what our duty was, thirty thousand sons of America were fighting under the banners of Canada and France. The spirit of the youth of America! How it has flamed forth everywhere throughout our broad land during this past year! Go to the cantonments, and see the men and the officers; there is but one spirit — the spirit of being ready to go and fight in a cause which is the holiest for which men ever fought — of eagerness, when ready, to go at once, and "over there" to tread the path that leads to the supreme devotion. And in these camps — as to three of them I know from personal contact — there has been disappointment, chagrin, irritation almost, because they were held back, because it seemed as though the Government was not putting them on "the red line of battle" as soon as they were ready!

Ah! gentlemen, there is no question about the spirit of the youth of America. There is no question as to the account they will give of themselves, those who are there and the millions — for I believe there must be and will be millions — that are to follow them. There is no difference, no ques-

tion that they will carry that banner of the Red, White and Blue, the flag of freedom and the flag of humanity, chivalrously and worthily to a victorious peace.

But the spirit of the times that means most to the men "over there", that means most as to what they can do and as to what America is now doing, is the spirit of the times here in America. We are only in the beginning of our participation in the war. We are also only in the beginning of our realization of our duty in carrying on this war. I am not sorry Mr. Reynolds says that he believes, and rightly, that business cannot go on as usual. Men of business, the business of America is war, and it has no other business until this war is won. All other business is not only subsidiary to that, but its very value depends upon its being and remaining incidental and supplementary and assisting this business of war!

What is your business worth if we wage this war back here with divided counsels or with hesitating devotion? The war prolonged means business still more imperiled. The war prolonged means the burden of business still greater. The war prolonged by a lack of summoning up the courage and the forces of the men who do not fight is imperiling the success of the war. The time is coming — and it's coming soon, and the

sooner it comes the more decisive it will be — when America, with its whole strength in this war, its full power asserted in this war, can end it, and by ending it bring a peace that will end war for all time. Therefore, the part of all business is to aid this supreme business of the nation, which is making war.

But when we speak of spirit, we mean something more than activity, something more than energy and financial resources and industrial and commercial effort. We mean the soul of the man and of the nation. The spirit of the times is the soul of the times, and the soul of the times is found in the spirit and the soul of men and women and youth and children — that spirit of which a blunt and bludgeony old soldier, Cromwell, said long ago, "The mind and the spirit are the man."

And what America must do, what you and I must do, is to develop in ourselves and in our communities, in our families, everywhere, this spirit of devotion as utter, as absolute, as unbending and unflinching as the spirit of devotion which your son and so many of America's sons bear in their breasts as they cross the seas and take their places in the ranks on the western line.

We want their spirit, and we can take comfort, I think, from the vast awakening of the spirit of

America in this short year; but it's not yet the spirit of France, it's not yet the spirit of England.

Not many weeks ago I was in the South near a large camp where there were about 40,000 young men from Pennsylvania in training. Among their teachers were a half-dozen young, fine, handsome French officers. At the hotel where I was staying those officers often came in the evening, and it was noticeable that not a French officer participated in the dances. When one of the girls that surrounded and admired them asked, "Why are you not dancing?" the reply was, "Do you forget that we are sons of France, and the situation in which France is?"

Men, America is essentially in the same situation as France. We have not paid the price yet, but until we have paid the price we are not worthy of the reward that will come and which France has already earned. Until we have paid some such price, until we have made some such sacrifices, until we have shown some such devotion, the spirit of America will lack much of the spirit of France. And, after all, it is the spirit of America that we love, not its greatness, not its wealth, not its territory — it is the spirit of America that from the beginning has stood for human rights, for liberty; that has regarded the liberties of other nations as well as its own; that in its little Spanish War

chivalrously struck off the shackles from Cuba, but did not seize Cuba, as every statesman of Europe felt sure we would.

The spirit of America, which is the spirit of its men and its women, is not the true American spirit, and will not be until it has made its sacrifices, until it has proved its devotion, until it has stood fast in the way Belgium and France and England and her colonies have stood fast, holding for us the pass of civilization.

We have had inspiring campaigns here and throughout the United States to raise money for the Young Men's Christian Association war fund, for the Red Cross and for the Liberty Loans. I think they have been oversubscribed by almost every community. And yet how little we have done compared with what we can do! How little we have done compared with what Belgium and France and England have done! I read the other day that within the last year England has shifted eight hundred thousand men in the employment of England in order to have their work and their labor bear more directly in England upon the winning of this war. We want this spirit here, to hearten and support the boys who are "over there", the boys whose spirit is already coming back to us in one way and another. Why, it was only a fortnight ago that one of the boys of

Chicago, Dinsmore Ely, died in France, and the day after the news of his death there came a letter from him to his mother, in which he said:

"Like a Liberty Bond, it's an investment, not a loss, when a man gives his life for his country."

Only today I saw these lines on "Going West", written by Dan. W. Totheroh, a San Francisco boy at Camp Lewis, in a letter to his mother. You know the soldiers in France say, when one of their number has passed over, "He's gone West." These are the lines:

"'Going West' isn't dying;
It's just going west to a glorified rest,
As the setting sun, when the day is done,
In a glory of red, sinks low in the west,
Never suggesting a thought of the dead—
But, rather, of rising again in the morn—
A sun reborn!
'Going West' isn't dying,
It's just going west to a glorified rest."

I was told the other day of an old negro who came into Grenada, Mississippi, during the Third Liberty Loan campaign, and said to some one he met on the street, "What is dis here War Savings Certificate I hear so much about?" "Why, you go down to the Post Office and you get one of those Certificates." He went down to the Post Office and asked about the War Savings Certifi-

cate and they told him it cost $4.16. He took out the money and handed it to the postmaster, who asked, "Do you wish it registered?" "What's dat? What's dat? What you mean registered?" "Do you want it registered so it will be in your name? This Certificate I am going to give you, if it's not registered and you lose it, and somebody else finds it, he can collect five dollars from the Government in a few years." "What's dat, you mean to say what you give me for my money is worth five dollahs?" "Yes, it will be if you keep it." "I don' want it. I wants somethin' where I pays $4.16 every month to the Government of the United States 'cause I hear that the Government needs my money to win this War."

That is the true spirit, the spirit of the times, which requires us, as has already been intimated by Mr. Reynolds, to realize that every American, whether native or naturalized; every American, whether white or black, has a common stake with us and is making a common sacrifice with us for a cause that doesn't belong to you or me, that doesn't belong even to the people of the United States, but belongs to the free people of the whole world. It is, therefore, required of us that the spirit of brotherhood which is at the basis of freedom, equality and liberty under our Constitution, shall be stronger in America than it has ever been before.

I heard in the South of a Southern officer who said that he could not possibly have colored troops in his division, or if he did they couldn't join in "retreat" at the end of the day. You remember what "retreat" is — when the bands play the "Star-Spangled Banner" the whole camp stands at attention and the colors on the flagstaff come down. This man said he couldn't join in "retreat" if the colored soldiers joined with him.

That is a remnant, a strange remnant, of an old prejudice and an old spirit; it is a prejudice that that man himself will not feel when he has seen those black men on the blood-soaked soil of France go to the front to save him and to save others precisely as any white man could do and should do.

And so the causes of division that have been between us — how they have been submerged already in this great spirit of devotion to country! The division between capital and labor — how both sides regard it as a thing absolutely to be discarded in the presence of a peril that threatens to engulf them both! We want the spirit of brotherhood through and through. We want the spirit of love of country through and through, and we don't want any substitute for it.

Would any of us believe that there can be substituted for this spirit the so-called internationalism — internationalism that is too broad for any

one nation and is going to take in the whole world? Alas! They thought they had that in Russia! Of all the sad tragedies the world has ever seen, the saddest has been that of a great empire that in a night became a great popular government and soon fell to pieces, into wreck and ruin, into bloodshed and disorder, into loss of life, into absolute anarchy under the misleading guidance of this will-o'-the-wisp, universal brotherhood; this internationalism or socialism that leads thus to anarchy, that stifles thus the loyalty of men and women to the nation that has given them birth or has given them a home. That spirit is as essentially disloyal and destructive of the democracy which America stands for and for which our troops fight as the autocratic Prussianism which we are in battle array to overwhelm and destroy!

The spirit of America is the spirit of justice, the spirit of equality, and, that fact recognized, it is no more possible to have a just government by the ignorant alone than by the educated alone; no more by the so-called proletariat, the poor, than by the rich alone; no more by those of one class than by any other class. The democracy for which we fight and the spirit of democracy which should pervade America more and more is the spirit that denies all divisions and recognizes that the Government is a government in which all par-

ticipate, which protects all equally; which no class can claim for itself, either to control or to direct, or for the obtaining of special privileges, without imperiling not only the rights and the safety of society itself, but the rights and safety of the very class that assumes to control.

America stands for the rule of justice; not the rule of power. And when any class, any group, seizing power, exercises its will, then that rule and that group do not represent democracy, do not represent the United States of America. What we want in the spirit of these times is that thorough sacrifice, that thorough spirit of brotherhood, that shall wipe out these divisions, but shall at the same time preserve the institutions of justice and liberty, and protection by law.

Obedience to law is liberty. The conscience of the state is law and the institutions of liberty are the guardians of liberty. We must guard those institutions against these new notions, no matter how benevolent, how philanthropic, they may be; it is as essential that we shall guard them against these perils as that we shall cast down in the dust with the sword of our might the autocratic rule of Prussia and the cruelty which goes with irresponsible power.

The greatest thing America can gain in this war is not victory over a foreign foe, great as that is,

essential as it is for the welfare of the world; the greatest thing that America can gain in this war is to have one spirit through all America, to have one language through all America. That language is English, and that language should be the common right of every man, woman and child under the flag.

In that language the Declaration and the Constitution were written; in that language Lincoln couched his Gettysburg Speech and his Second Inaugural Address; in that language alone can be found the spirit of America, its aims and ambitions, its purposes in the world, its institutions, its love of liberty and the institutions which, being established by the wisdom of our fathers, are at once our sacred possession and the sole guardian of the rights we cherish.

If we win the war and save the spirit of America — and we must win the war to save the spirit of America — and if in winning it the spirit of America shall be unified so that we shall be wholly and truly Americans, every man, woman and child of us, and shall go forward after the war in that same spirit of devotion and fellowship and brotherhood with which alone the war can be won, then the sacrifices that remain to be made will be made and they will redeem America, and will redeem free government throughout the world.

WELCOME TO THE CONVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FIRE ENGINEERS

Sherman House, Chicago, June 5, 1918

MR. PRESIDENT, Chiefs of the Fire Department of the United States and Canada:

I am very glad to respond to the invitation of Deputy Chief McDonnell of the Chicago Fire Department to say a few words to you and to welcome you to our city.

Your president has underwritten this invitation and I respond to it with especial interest because your profession, your business, your work in life, have marked points of similarity, and your problems have marked points of similarity, with those of the soldiers in this great war. There are also striking contrasts.

The life of the fireman, like that of the soldier, is a life of adventure. But there is a great difference: in war, the soldier's business is destructive, and destructive only, whereas the fireman fights not to destroy but to preserve. While the soldier fights to take the life of his human enemy, you Chiefs and your men fight to take the life of your material enemy, which is fire, a destroyer of life and property.

From the standpoint of the firemen of the United States and Canada and the other countries of the world, what a picture this world-wasting war in which we and our brave allies are now engaged presents! You organize not only to put out fires but also to prevent fires. And you recognize increasingly from year to year that your usefulness is in proportion as you increase preventive agencies, and not at all in proportion as fires increase; and you show the heroism of the soldier, reckless of your own interest and your own life.

But think of this war, begun with a deliberate purpose to spread devastation and death and suffering over so much of the world as was necessary to achieve power in Europe! It began with the lie that it was a defensive war. It was a calculated war, and is being so conducted by the enemy. No fire-setter, no man seeking to burn buildings for the purpose of loot or insurance, ever plotted to set a fire, reckless of the results, more deliberately than this war was plotted by Germany.

It began with a lie, and to this very hour it has been prosecuted by methods that no human being on this continent believed could be used by any civilized power in the world.

It began with a pretext. The murder of the Archduke of Austria by an Austrian on Austrian soil, was taken as a pretext for attacking little

Serbia. And then Germany, using as a pretext Russia's partial mobilization with a view possibly to helping her little Slavic friend and neighbor, Serbia, turned not upon Russia but upon France; and in assailing France, it was little, neutral Belgium, innocent, peaceful and friendly, that received the first blow.

That was not war, any more than the present submarine methods resorted to by the enemy are war. It was the policy and the work of assassins. It did not spare the women and children of Belgium or France; it did not spare the convents and the monasteries; it did not respect anything in the law of God or of man or of nations. That is the way it began.

Now, gentlemen, how are we going to meet it? The gigantic factories of the Krupps in Germany, turning out munitions in vast quantities and furnishing them, apparently, to other nations were, in reality, a powerful means of preparation with the money of other countries to equip Germany against the time when she should be ready to fight the rest of the world.

But the munitions that you use are not to spread fire, but to stop fire. Imagine men planning to make fire-bombs and torches and shells that could be used in civilized communities to set fires, in

order that you men on the other side would resist and extinguish them.

That is the way the war has gone on to this day. How should it be met? Can you meet it by discussions about the wastefulness of war? You are here to discuss loss of life and destruction of property by fire, but when the fire is on you do not call a convention — you call the firemen and start to fight the fire. So discussions about peace now would be as foolish as though you, when a conflagration is raging in some part of the United States, were to call a convention of fire chiefs and firemen in another part of the United States.

Suppose a great fire were raging in Evanston, or in Oak Park, which are not a part of Chicago. Would the firemen of Chicago say, "That is no affair of ours"? Would they say, "That does not concern us"? Would they say, "Our interest in conflagrations is only in conflagrations that rage right here"? No, they would know that a fire in Evanston or in Oak Park might, by a change of wind, in a moment imperil lives and property in Chicago. Aye, more, they would get ready to go to the relief of Evanston or of Oak Park, from mere principles of humanity. They would say, "The people of Evanston and of Oak Park are the same as we are, human beings, and if we can

save a single life or save property by going to their relief we will go."

And yet it took us in America quite a while to realize that this was just the kind of fire that was raging in Belgium and in France, and that when the ruthless power, with utter disregard of men, women and children, with absolute disregard of the rights of free peoples, terming solemn treaties and international law "scraps of paper", invaded Belgium and France, and laid them waste with fire and sword, they were attacking us.

We know it now, but it took us quite a time to realize that an attack upon free government at any place in the world for the purpose of aggrandizement is an attack upon free government everywhere.

Now, gentlemen, you would rush to fight a fire and put it out, and you would do nothing less. And when you went, what would you do to the man or men present if, as you got your engines to work and your ladders set up at the place of the conflagration, they undertook to interfere, even by conversation, with the work of your men? And suppose they undertook to interfere with the operation of the fire fighting machinery?

What would you think of the citizens of a town where you were fighting fire if one of them hesitated to come to the aid of your men when you

called for help? I know what you would do: you would treat such a citizen as a cowardly slacker, and you would treat those who started the fire as criminals, to be seized by the police or by citizens called upon to aid the police. And if you could not seize them, you would kill them before you would let them go on with their infamous work!

This war is to be fought in exactly that way. The man who is not helping to check this great conflagration — and especially the man who is trying to thwart the cause of the United States of America in this war — is a thousand times worse, — because the injury he does is so much greater — than that done by the man who steps in the way of your fire fighters, or shakes the ladder of the men who climb into the flames to rescue women and children.

That is where we stand today. First put out the fire. That is our business at this time. And in putting out this world-conflagration what is fundamental? This is fundamental — that the persons responsible for setting this fire should not profit by it; that they should not get the insurance, if that was their purpose in setting the fire. It is important that they not only shall not profit by it, but that they shall suffer for their crimes! Men will not be guilty of setting fires when the penitentiary or something worse is their certain

punishment. And men and nations will not start wars like the one now raging when such wars are made not only not profitable but a loss.

Therefore, the only way we can deal with this war is to make certain that we win it, and, winning it, make certain that Germany pays the full price of her awful crimes against nations and humanity! That will cure war. When war is unprofitable, war will cease. When war is punished as it deserves to be, as the supreme crime against human rights, then war will cease. And the first and only business of the world today is to win this war.

And having won it, and having punished those who are responsible for it, and having made them repair their wrongs as far as they can be repaired to Belgium and to France and to Serbia and to Poland, let the free peoples of America and of the world join together, as you are joining together here in this convention, in a league of peace that will enforce and preserve peace in the world, with all the strength, moral and physical, of the civilized nations of the world. Only thus can we have peace; only thus can we end the destructions of this world war; only thus can we set up in the world what we in America have had, what was set up in this land by our sturdy, self-sacrificing forefathers — the standard of justice, a justice not only for individuals but for nations and between

nations; justice for the small nation as for the large; justice as a rule of right, and as a law recognized everywhere and enforced everywhere throughout the world. Then will war end. Then will peace be durable. Then will men and nations, the small as well as the large, have the opportunity to live their lives in freedom, follow their own destinies, develop in their own ways, wronged by no one and wronging none.

(The audience to a man rises and cheers, and—

A voice: "What's the matter with Bancroft?"

The Audience: "He's all right!"

The Voice: "Who's all right?"

The Audience: "Bancroft!"

And many go to the platform and shake hands with the Speaker.)

Chief Bywater, of Salt Lake City:—"Mr. President, and gentlemen of the convention: I move that we give a rising vote of thanks to Mr. Bancroft for the very eloquent and patriotic speech which he has just made."

Chief Boyd, of Knoxville, Tennessee: "I second the motion."

The members of the convention rose and gave three cheers and a tiger.

Mr. Bancroft:—"I thank you, gentlemen."

ILLINOIS — THE LAND OF MEN

Illinois Centennial Address, delivered in the Illinois House of Representatives, Springfield, April 18, 1918

WE are here tonight to celebrate with joy and pride both the growth and achievements of our State during its first hundred years. But we do not forget — we can not forget — how much back of that century, and how much now in this world-shattering and saddening war we owe to France. As America has recalled proudly her debt to her in the days of Lafayette, so Illinois should remember what she owes to the France of nearly a century before — France the bravest, most generous and liberty loving of nations.

Doctor Finley — whose absence, compelled by a distant and important mission, we all regret — has told with rare poetic insight the romantic story of the earlier explorations of this region in his lectures before the Sorbonne, which he has collected in a book entitled, "France in the Heart of America." In the preface, written since the war began, he gave this title a sentimental as well as a geographical turn. How truly was France in the heart of America! And with what profound satisfaction we recognize tonight that America is

in the heart of France in fact no less than in sentiment! Precious as are our past obligations to this heroic people, our future ties to them should be ever sacred.

When General Pershing laid a wreath of roses on Lafayette's tomb he raised his hand in salute and said with soldierly brevity, "Lafayette, we are here!" So, we may say, "France, you have long been here; we rejoice that *we* are now *there*; for we both know that our cause is the same."

* * * * * *

Let us first recall briefly that earlier time of picturesque and chivalrous adventuring.

It was the French who first explored this region and made it known to the world — soldiers seeking new domains for the lilies of France; missionaries seeking converts to the Christian faith; *voyageurs* seeking profit and adventure in this wild land. La Salle, Marquette, Joliet, Hennepin and their associates were the real discoverers of this vast expanse along the Upper Mississippi, with its fertile soil, natural beauty, abundant game and peaceful Indians. They mapped and named the water courses and other natural landmarks and the Indian villages. They established forts, founded missions, marked the trails and the sites for trading which they learned from the Indians. They were everywhere the forerunners of the

pioneers. But it is a curious fact that the French established no enduring settlements. Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Peoria, Fort Saint Louis (now Starved Rock) and Fort Creve Cœur, founded by the French fathers and soldiers, and nearly all their other outposts of civilization languished unless and until they were taken over by American or English pioneers.

It is to the intrepid missionary, Père Marquette, that the State owes its name. Exploring the Mississippi, he came upon the footprints of a large band of Indians. Overtaking them, he asked who they were. They thrilled him with their answer: "We are the Illini — the tribe of men." Thus, this great land of prairies and wooded water courses between the rivers, and the lake became the Illinois territory, and nearly a century and a half later the State of Illinois. And the whole significance of our hundred years must be found in the deeper meaning of our name — Illinois, the land of men. For, no matter how much we exalt quantities and values and incomprehensible numbers, we know that their origins and significances are, and must always be, in *men.* Back of all deeds is the doer, and back of all accomplishment is individual character.

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When the Congress authorized the formation of

this State, and President Monroe signed the enabling act one hundred years ago today, it was the result of a very brief campaign here and was not regarded elsewhere as of special significance. Relatively little discussion had preceded the presentation of the memorial from the territory or delayed the passage of the bill through House and Senate. This had been a separate territory only ten years. Its population was then less than thirty thousand, mostly from slave-holding States, and all its settlements, without important exception, lay along the water courses near and south of the mouth of the Illinois River. Though this was a part of the Northwest Territory, from which slavery was excluded by the famous ordinance of 1787, yet slavery existed here from the days of French control; the census of 1818 reported 829 "servants or slaves."

Daniel Pope Cook, the very young and energetic editor and proprietor of the territory's chief newspaper, the *Western Intelligencer,* published at Kaskaskia, is to be remembered as the main factor in bringing forward and pressing the question of statehood at that time, when the territory had scarcely half of the sixty thousand population required for a State under the ordinance of 1787.

Nathaniel Pope, our territorial delegate, in preparing the bill, fixed the northern boundary first

at ten miles and finally at fifty miles north of the line through the south bend of Lake Michigan that had been indicated in the ordinance as the boundary of a new State. This change of boundary, in order to give Illinois access to Lake Michigan, seemed of small importance at the time, but it gave the State its entire lake frontage with its great metropolis and its fourteen northern counties which now have a population greater than that of all the rest of the State.

Here was a truly royal domain — with more acres of arable land than all England. It was, indeed, a new and fairer Mesopotamia, with leagues on leagues of verdant prairies, brilliant with wild flowers and fringed with forests along the streams. Beneath the riches of its deep black soil lay undreamed of wealth of coal and oil, of lead and zinc and other minerals. Upon its lakes and rivers there was no sail, only the silent canoe of the Indian and the *voyageur* and the slow, cumbersome river boat of the pioneer. There was no smoke cloud anywhere of town or factory The rude, primitive salt works at Shawneetown was the solitary industry of Illinois. The blacksmith and itinerant cobbler supplemented the skill of the pioneer and his wife in providing the simple equipment and coarse clothing of the frontier life. The population — even including the 10,000 who

came into the territory while it was framing a constitution for the State and thus made up the required 40,000, and even including the 6,000 Indians, who were practically the only inhabitants of the north three-quarters of the territory — amounted to only one person to each one and a quarter square miles.

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What miracles a hundred years have wrought! The population has increased from 40,000 to about 6,000,000 — nearly twice the population of the thirteen colonies in 1776. The production of Indian corn has increased from a few thousand bushels, then produced by the settlers and the Indians, to 365,654,400 bushels in 1917. The total wealth of the State has increased from $4,000,000 to $15,000,000,000 — nearly four thousand fold; and today the value of our productions from field and factory and mine is nearly $3,000,000,000 a year. What a contrast between the little, crude salt works at Shawneetown and our vast and varied manufacturing enterprises today! Our exhaustless supply of coal, our unequaled railroad transportation and the easy access by water to the nation's great iron ore supply have been great factors in producing these results. Illinois plows, Illinois cornplanters and Illinois harvesting machines have increased the food supply in every

quarter of the world, as they first increased it here. Illinois automatic machinery and machine shop equipments are lightening the labor of human hands in all countries. Illinois packing house products reach every corner of the globe, and Illinois watches keep time for every civilized nation.

Though the Illinois and Michigan Canal may now seem a rather sorry and expensive political reminiscence, it aided greatly in the growth of Illinois and of Chicago. Shadrach Bond, our first Governor, recommended it, and his successors, through discouragements and disasters not a few, persevered until it was completed in 1848. When the Erie Canal was finished in 1826, the commercial East and the agricultural West for the first time naturally joined hands at Chicago, instead of by way of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers as theretofore. Chicago has been called the child of New York and the Erie Canal. When the railroads came later the routes of commerce east and west of Illinois had been so far fixed through Chicago, and the natural influences were still so controlling, that Chicago's position as the railroad center of our country was soon firmly established.

If it seems one of the chief marvels of our hundred years that this young State should furnish the site of the nation's second and the world's

fourth city, it is because Illinois combines in the major and world-wide sense the granary and the workshop. The legend of Chicago's seal tells the story, "*Urbs in horto.*"

These achievements are due to the foresight and character of the men, from Nathaniel Pope down through this wonder-working century, who discovered and developed the great natural resources and opportunities. For, important as the advantages of geographic and economic position and of natural resources are to such great accomplishments, they have required here, as they always do, another and yet more important factor — masterful men of vision. These accomplishments were largely by-products of the moral and political convictions and aspirations of the men and women of Illinois. From the beginning the people of this State have believed that the principles of the Declaration and the Constitution furnish the only sure foundation for a free and civilized State.

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Though the enabling act wisely provided that the larger portion of the proceeds from public lands within the State should go to education (because, as was erroneously stated, the Illinois country did not need much money for good roads!), Nathaniel Pope's wise foresight was vain.

Funds from this source were absorbed and lost in the later craze for public improvements.

While schools and churches were almost the first desires of many Illinois pioneers, public education here as elsewhere, was very slowly developed. During the first fifty years the real centers of learning and enlightenment were the communities where private initiative and gifts had founded academies and denominational colleges. They offered the opportunity of a liberal education to the children of the poor and well-to-do alike. Shurtleff, McKendree, Illinois and Knox Colleges were early examples of these centers of moral and mental enlightenment and progress in this State. They constantly drew hither the more desirable settlers, and through their students and graduates disseminated higher ideals of conduct, business and government. They combine, as no other institutions of learning have done with equal emphasis, the development of the moral and religious as well as the intellectual nature. They ministered largely to the moral indignation against slavery which found full expression in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Edward Beecher, president of Illinois College, and Jonathan Blanchard, president of Knox College, were strong anti-slavery leaders in the discussions that followed the murder of Lovejoy.

Not until the last fifty years did the early plans for public education become effective. Our public school system had hardly begun by 1855 and progress was slow until after the Civil War. It is in her later years that Illinois has developed her great State university, and the two other universities on private foundations at Chicago.[1] In libraries, in the fine arts, and in music Illinois has facilities, opportunities and students which give her a relative rank even greater than her wealth and commerce.

Indeed, the connection is closer than is sometimes realized between the agencies for religious, moral and mental development and the physical evidences of great wealth and enterprise. For it is not alone the combination of the trained scientific mind and business sagacity that have produced the vast wealth of our State. Sterling moral character, fine public spirit, high personal

[1] Jonathan B. Turner's contribution is worthy of remembrance. He came to Illinois in the early thirties. He was the leader in the movement creating State Universities by National aid and to furnish agricultural and technical instruction. He also introduced the osage orange hedges to save the expense of rail fences and of ditches and embankments then in general use. In this war American Universities and Colleges have made the priceless contributions of patriotic enthusiasm and eager young men specially competent for leadership in every branch of war service. And the roots of the osage orange — now supplanted by wire fencing —have yielded a dye for their uniforms.

and commercial ideals have given energy and stability to our great business enterprises. And the men who have won the largest successes have themselves attested the truth of this statement. Philip D. Armour established the Institute of Technology as well as a world-wide business fitly to perpetuate his name. The memory of the commercial genius of Marshall Field will persist in the centuries to come, not so much in the marvelous business which he created as in the Field Museum on the shore of Lake Michigan, and the influence of that monument will increase and expand with the years. George M. Pullman, whose engineering skill lifted Chicago out of the swamp before he established the business that bears his name, took pains to assure a continued influence of elevation in the great training school which he founded. There are similar instances in nearly all parts of our State. In Illinois no man is regarded as truly successful unless he adds high personal character and a generous civic spirit to his business abilities.

It was the moral and idealistic training of American schools and colleges that made the martyrdom of Belgium and Germany's crimes against humanity on land and sea and from the air irresistible arguments for our joining the allies. It was largely our college men who went, and in-

spired others to go, overseas to aid French and English arms long before our declaration of war. We should never forget the moral heroism and vicarious sacrifice of this American vanguard of 30,000 men, fighting under foreign flags for the life and soul of neutral America.

The queenly stature of Illinois in the sisterhood of States has been due to her steadfast devotion to liberty, justice, education and all the agencies of moral, aesthetic and spiritual enlightenment and to a patriotism that embraces all these.

What a powerful inspiration in the trying days of this World War have been the memories of the Illinois leaders in the War for the Union! Every Illinoisan who knows what Lincoln and Grant and Logan and Palmer and Oglesby strove for is bound to know and feel that their work is vain unless the Prussian arms and creed are defeated. We all know that as they sought a half-century ago to save this nation, not for its power or its glory, but because in its survival were bound up the deepest interests of mankind, so America is fighting with the allies in this war. And their spirit and capacity and devotion have reappeared during the past twelve months in the varied labors and solid service of Governor Lowden. His record and his character are strong promises for our second century. By his words and his acts he has

made clear the purpose for which America fights; and that all that Illinois has, all that Illinois is, are but dust in the balance as compared with the cause for which American soldiers are fighting and dying on the Western front.

Therefore, Illinois is pledged and prepared by her history and ideals to fight to the end, even if the war should take from us all that our hundred years have gathered.

What are the problems that confront Illinois as it enters upon its second century, and what are the lessons its past teaches?

The problems are the old ones of making and keeping a democracy honest and humane in purpose, genuine, intelligent and steadfast in character. The perpetual problem, as Lincoln stated it, is to have a government strong enough to protect the liberties of the people in a crisis, but not too strong for those liberties in times of peace; the problem of keeping justice and liberty equal and fraternal, and of ever guarding and preserving not only the essential principles, but the essential institutions of our free Republic.

This war has taught us, as no other war in our history has done, that a republic must not only be willing to fight for its liberties, but it must be prepared to fight; that loyalty imposes a constant obligation which will be most cheerfully recog-

nized and met if it is definite and applies to every youth alike.

The utter collapse and disintegration of Russia have taught us — as we needed to be taught and cannot too often call to mind — that there can be no justice assured to anyone except under ordered liberty, under a government of justice and law; that a socialistic government, whether resulting in anarchy or oligarchy, is not the government which Washington founded and Lincoln saved. Their government was of the whole people, and not of any class, and was founded in rules of right and in permanent institutions of liberty and justice.

Free government no more means a government of the proletariat than of the grand dukes; no more of the poor than of the rich; no more of the ignorant than of the learned. It means a government in which *all* participate, and under which the *rights of all* are *equally* protected; and protected not by the *will of the rulers,* whether a vast committee or an irresponsible czar, but protected by fundamental principles of justice and by established institutions of freedom.

Illinois has been ever true in conviction, if not always in practice, to the rule that "obedience to law is liberty." The disorders of the Chicago strike of 1894, and the more recent race riots at

Springfield and East St. Louis, are painful reminders that dangers constantly lurk in a democracy and that neither justice nor liberty can live under mob law. Reverence for law must ever go with devotion to liberty, else liberty is lost. "Law is the uttered conscience of the State restraining the individual will."

This war should teach us another lesson of the highest value. In England and in America the great crisis has submerged and obliterated for the time the divisions between so-called labor and capital. Both have forgotten their differences — have been ashamed of their differences — in the presence of a danger that threatened to engulf them both. If the war has taught coöperation and mutual confidence and the duty to suppress differences for the good of all, shall we not finally learn that lesson and apply it to all our relations hereafter? For internal class divisions and strife will wreck Democracy as surely as would the success of the German arms.

It is increasingly patent that much remains to be done in order to make every Illinois boy and girl fit in spirit, in hand and in brain for the duties of citizenship. This is a problem, not so much of making every citizen of greater economic worth to the State, but of making every youth, whether alien or native born, a loyal, an honest and an

intelligent citizen. A formal naturalization of the immigrants is not enough — it means very little; it should mean very much. It should mean such knowledge of our language — *and there is but one American language* — and of our history and institutions, as will lead them unconsciously to love America with the singleness to which they pledge themselves in their oath of allegiance. Americanism admits of no divided loyalty — least of all between America and another nation whose governmental aims and principles are antagonistic to ours.

The pitiful exhibition of "international democracy" in Russia the past year should be warning enough to us against every propaganda that weakens, in any way or for any human purpose, complete patriotic devotion to America. All such movements in the name of humanity destroy all the safeguards of essential human rights.

> "God gave all men all earth to love,
> But since man's heart is small,
> Ordained for each one spot to be
> Beloved over all."

* * * * * *

When the heat of summer lies heavy upon our land there comes a flower that bursts in white and gold on the sluggish stream and decks with sweet stars of day the surface of many a murky pool.

The Illinois of our pride today is not found in its population or wealth or its material resources. It is in the soul of our commonwealth. Like a pond lily, it has grown out of the depths of this fecund valley, and, striving upward through all the turbulent and turgid floods of a new industrial and civil life, has been nourished even by the impurities in which it was rooted.

Only as our buildings and enterprises, our genius for production and commerce strengthen and uplift our people, are they truly admirable. Every beauty of line in the material edifice of our greatness, every political or commercial achievement that stirs the spirit, is proof of the essential soundness of a civilization that has been and still may be somewhat crude, yet has been always genuine, always aspiring.

Even our largest material accomplishments disclose ideals that have not yet been realized, and that have soared with each attainment; that have gone like the purpose before a deed, leading to action, but mingling with fulfillment a high discontent that impels to yet higher doing. They are but the symbols of our power, the promise of our future.

It is a brave banner that we unfurl, bearing the record of our hundred years. There you may read the story of Père Marquette, carrying the cross to

the wild tribes of our prairies; of the French *coureurs du bois,* romantic, brave, enduring; of the frontiersmen, who, like the explorers and fur traders, loved the wilderness, its hardships and adventures, with its free life and isolation, for their own sake, and then as towns and cities grew, they vanished beyond the Mississippi.

You can see there the pioneers — the lonely log cabin, the little hamlet in the midst of the undulating sea of prairie flowers, guarded by the church spire and the school house, rather than by the walls and gates of old. Into the peace and silence come a few harsh notes of strife between savage and settler; splashes of blood stain the lake's yellow sands. Then you can see later the yeomen of the countryside marching with their flintlocks against the Indians in the one war that has touched the soil of Illinois.

You can see the beginnings of communities, of an organic life binding communities together; the self-contained, yet unconscious heroes of that simple time, moving with a certain giant strength and childlike directness to control the forces which were then raw and plastic, and to build out of them a puissant and stable State. The pioneers stood as the trees of a forest, together but individual.

"They rise to mastery of wind and snow;
They go like soldiers grimly into strife

To colonize the plain. They plow and sow,
And fertilize the sod with their own life,
As did the Indian and the buffalo."

Behold there the simple folk that defended themselves against the red race, now imperiling their liberty and their lives to give freedom to the fleeing slave. These men of the "underground railroad" were the first projectors of North and South railroad lines, and they surpassed all others in having successful *operation* accompany the preliminary *survey!*

How that record blazes with the part of Illinois in the great war for Freedom and the Union. Behold the long lines of blue, gathering from farm and shop and store and school, and moving away to martial music, mingled with huzzas and sobs — to meet death or victory, as might be, but to meet either with a smile. The story brightens and darkens as gloom follows gleam until at last, out of hoping and despairing comes victory, and the sad, yet rejoicing return.

Then a shadow falls across the picture — a shadow so deep that it darkens every heart and every home in Illinois. Lincoln the great Captain, Lincoln the Emancipator of the Slaves, Lincoln the Saviour of the Nation, Lincoln the Martyr, lies dead.

"When lilacs last in the dooryard bloomed,
And the great star early drooped in the western sky in the night,
I mourned and yet shall mourn with ever-returning spring."

Then we see the interrupted forces rearrange themselves; old enterprises and new endeavors take on a new vitality; we see a city leap into life as by magic, and then more suddenly vanish in flames. Its woe becomes its fortune; its destruction is its upbuilding. Enterprise, commercial and industrial, dominates every element of city and country life. Material foundations are laid so broad and so deep that all else seems forgotten. Streets are lifted out of the swamp; notable buildings are raised out of the ashes; numerical and financial strength increases. Out of them arise the beginnings of an intellectual and aesthetic life.

"Whate'er delight
Can make Day's forehead bright
Or give down to the wings of Night."

Wealth, philanthrophy and art, schools and universities blossom in the Dream-city of the Exposition, a city built of wave and cloud and sunshine; that opened, when the daylight faded, like a great night-blooming cereus by the margin of the lake. It glowed with the colors of evening and of dawn,

and passed as they pass, leaving only imperishable memories.

* * * * * *

And then the portraits that hang in the hall of our hundred years! Plutarch's men, who lived the

> "Life that doth send
> A challenge to its end;
> And when it comes, says
> Welcome, friend!"

Douglas, the "Little Giant", like a short, swart tower holding guns terrific for destruction and defense; Baker of the silver voice, who joined to the strength of the West and the calmness of the North, the warmth and fervor of the South — whose brilliant speech was forgotten in the keener flash of his sword, which, alas! fell with him at Ball's Bluff in the very budding of his powers; and Palmer, who followed Douglas in putting aside his party and its principles for the higher cause of the Nation; and in his old age again standing true to his convictions and assuming leadership to guard the nation from financial disaster; and Oglesby, the homeless Kentucky lad, thrice chosen Governor of Illinois, and beloved leader in war and in peace; Trumbull, slender of stature, but great in intellectual power — the foremost constitutional lawyer and debater of that

time; and Logan, swarthy and fearless, who left the companions of his youth to lead, as few leaders could, the impetuous legions of the North — who with a soldier's reckless daring joined a gentle heart, and in the thankfulness that followed war helped to heal its wounds by establishing the Grand Army of the Republic.

And Grant, of the stern, unflinching, untelling face, of a figure and a stature that gave no hint of martial glory or of martial prowess, but which held a spirit that was dogged, indomitable, persistent and resistless in war; that was gentle, self-sacrificing and more sublimely brave in peace; that made Appomattox a shrine of magnanimity and Mount McGregor an altar of moral heroism.

But above all in our Pantheon is Lincoln, the people's hero, whose greatness is the common possession of mankind: A face so plain that it fascinates, so sad it touches the heart, so illumined it draws us from all sordidness; eyes that beacon to the safe harbor of a true soul; a form builded like the ships of the Vikings, strong to the uttermost and all but graceful in the perfection of its strength; a mind that brought every question to the test of truth and would not deceive others because it would not deceive itself — a mind ever ruled by a heart which, as Emerson said, was as capacious as the storehouse of the rains, but

had no room in it for the memory of a wrong; a mind and a heart distraught, oppressed, borne down under burdens greater than ever man bore and shaken by a temperament touched with moodiness and mysticism, but kept sound by a philosophy that took the sense of the comic as a preservative of wisdom and the sense of duty as the preservative of honor and endeavor; a spirit so fine that it felt, past all argument, the imminence of Divinity; a life harmonized and made glorious in the conclusion of Darwin—though a man may not fully know the issue of his life or the nature of God, he can do his duty. And how Lincoln did his duty, mankind will ever love to tell.

But there is another picture, a small part of a great canvas, not yet finished, radiant with a light that brightens every portrait, every painting in that hall. It portrays Illinois summoning her youth by hundreds of thousands to prepare to prove at arms her loyalty to liberty and her gratitude to France, and to defend that government of the people which it is Illinois' chief glory to have helped to save.

There is here none of the pageantry or trappings of an army with banners. Like the rude cabins of the pioneers, multiplied into myriads, are the schools of military instruction going forward with the simple directness and the invincible

purpose of a high resolve. Here above the broad prairie the young eagles are trying their wings and their talons, that they may strike to the earth the German vultures that are tearing at the vitals of defenceless millions.

Then we see them again — long lines of khaki brown and glistening steel that go forward and ever forward — some wounded, some dying, all cheerful, all smiling, all determined. And above the lines and before them — yea, and above the lines of France and of England — shining in the upper air, watching, rising, wheeling, striking — and sometimes falling!— are the young eagles of Illinois!

And the light of that picture glows upon all her sons who served with perfect devotion, whether here or there; whether they have returned, or whether France shall keep them lovingly and make their resting places shrines of liberty. And the radiance of that picture is from the sun of universal justice, liberty and kindliness that is just rising upon a darkened world.

All this — and how much more!— glows resplendent on our banner, though it shows but the simple legend, *Illinois, the Land of Men.*

WELCOME TO THE FRENCH CLERICAL MISSION

Armistice Day, November 11, 1918
Orchestra Hall, Chicago

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

EIGHTEEN months ago Chicago welcomed the French Commission that came to sound the clarion of war. Tonight we welcome a mission made up of the ministers of peace. But no less than the mighty warriors of France, these men of the spirit have ministered to the fighting soul of an indomitable nation. For it is true of nations as of men, that the soul is the immortal part. The soul of France through all this war has been like a fixed star shining through all the tempests. The soul of France has beckoned to the soul of America, and has taken across the sea our young men to fight, and some of them to die, happy in the thought that they were worthy to fight and stand and die by your sons.

The four years and more of this war have been a heavy burden upon those of us — and they are all Americans; they are all of the free peoples of the Christian world — who have been led to believe that the moral and spiritual forces are the

eternal things; that justice and liberty and human rights are not words, but are the most real of all realities.

There were times in these four years and more when the forces of liberty and justice seemed to give way somewhat and to be overborne by the forces of barbarism, of cruelty — the forces that were following what the Kaiser called "our own German Gott", who was but the god Thor, the god of Force. Well, we challenged that god in the name of the God of justice and of mercy and humanity; and in the days when men doubted, no one came to us from France but brought back the message of her serene spirit, of her unflinching purpose, of her loyalty to her faith and her loyalty to the principles for which France and America and England and Poland and Italy all stand and all have fought.

And so with fraternal affection we extend our hands to the men of this mission of peace; and, we greet them with a greater joy because they are here on this day of days, the first day of peace, and because, please God, we have seen the last day of war.

Our thoughts turn to the near events of these very few months since the brave, unconquerable young sons of America really got into the fighting line. The great tide of blood and cruelty and

aggression that the Huns had formed was at its height when the last German drive began on the 15th day of July, 1918. And three days later — days that ever will be memorable at least to Americans and Frenchmen, and, I think, to all the world — three days later the red line of war, the gray line of cruelty and of barbarity, began to go back and it has never stopped.

The brave Belgians have beaten those armies; the staunch and unflinching English have driven them back; and the marvelous French have put them to rout; and our own gallant amateur warriors have done their part.

There is a difference between men who fight for a purpose, for a principle and for an ideal that is outside of them, and men who fight for aggression and do not scruple at means. Contrast the Allies and the Teutonic hordes: Belgium for four years with not a foot of soil in her possession, her country pillaged and punished with crimes unspeakable, and robbed, even to her paving stones; Serbia, her country gone; France, a large part of her soil occupied and made desolate — and not one of these ever thought of surrendering. And on the other side Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Germany herself, with scarcely a foreign soldier on their soil, with their armies largely remaining intact, hoist the white flag that they had

time and again fired upon when it was spread in protection by the stretcher bearers over the dead and the dying. They felt coming upon them the punishment of their crimes — they who had denied the existence of conscience, of moral and spiritual forces and denied their power in the world, at last felt the force of these mighty influences and they surrendered with the craven, cowardly hearts that always go with guilt.

But if we look back over the whole eighteen months since the first French Commission inspired and gladdened our hearts and nerved our arms and directed our minds — if we look back over that period, what momentous and world-wide changes we behold! Has there been a century since history began in which changes so gigantic and immeasurable have taken place as in these last eighteen months? Russia, the gigantic autocracy of the world, fallen almost in a night into anarchy, helpless and disordered, and into ruin, starvation and death; Austria-Hungary, struggling to defend her unity and enlarge her power and hold together the diverse influences of races within her borders, falls first from the position of ally to that of the despicable vassal of Germany, and then falls into fragments; while exiled Serbia aims to be the leader and the champion of the Slavic races. And Germany that but a few months ago had increased

nearly threefold the peoples and the territory under the mailed fist of the Hohenzollern, that had its dream of conquest in the east almost realized; Germany that had gone ruthlessly over Belgium in violation of its rights, had made desolation of Poland; Germany, that Bismarck and William I had built into an Empire; Germany, that under the Kaiser expected to make itself the ruler of the world now beholds its government overthrown, its great navy, built to attack and defeat England and ultimately to rule all the seas, dispersing in revolt, and its Kaiser fleeing from his country for his life.

There is something more than physical force and the mere panoply of war that has wrought this change. And that something more is represented not alone by the first mission that came and with it brought the warlike, the patriotic and invincible spirit of France, but also by this distinguished mission that has nurtured this spirit and has been the guardian of those forces that, being themselves immortal, make immortal the nations and the individuals who hold them as their faith. It was but a day or two ago that Imperial Germany asked that the President of the United States, in suggesting terms for an armistice, would please not make them such as would be "incompatible with the honor of Germany". Are there any such terms? We are civilized people; and, therefore,

fighting as civilized foemen fight, it is impossible for us to conceive of terms that would be "incompatible with German honor".

Germany's honor, as shown in this war from the day it began almost to the very day it ended, is treachery; her conscience is interest and her right is power. We of America think that for a nation, as for an individual, honor is the very jewel of its soul; and if Belgium and France through all these years could stand steadfast, serene, unflinching and indomitable because they had the soul and the faith that lay hold on justice and truth, shall not we in America cling more firmly than ever to the fundamental principles of our Republic's justice and its liberty protected by law?

But we must now turn our faces forward. The fighting has ended but the war is not over. The work that America has done, though it came in that decisive moment and perhaps had a decisive effect — how small it is compared with what Belgium and France and England and Italy and Serbia have given and done! We must hold fast to the understanding that the peace whose terms you have read this day is a punitive peace, because it is a righteous peace. There can be no just peace unless the crimes committed against all peace are punished. If wrongs unspeakable, if injuries

unknown in the world before since men and nations called themselves civilized, are to be passed over as though they had not existed, then the mockery which the Teuton arms have made of justice and humanity will still stand as mockery because the world and the powers of darkness that have been overthrown have not received the punishment that goes with guilt.

But there is another side upon which we must look. We came into the war very late. We were almost, I think, a laggard in the fray. We came in swiftly when we came; we did our full part after we came; but, my fellowcountrymen, has not our work in this war just begun? When the people of France and Belgium, of Serbia and Poland, return to their homes, what will they find? Ashes, ruin, loneliness; fields, orchards, vineyards, houses, temples of art, public buildings and cathedrals in ruin. It meant new hope and a new life for them when the young men went from America to aid them, to fight with them and for them. Shall not they also find new hope and a new life through the purpose and the unity of purpose that carried us across the seas for their sake and through the ties of faith and understanding between us and them,— that have been cemented on these fields of victory? Shall we not still in the same unity of purpose carry out the work of

undoing the damage that the enemy has done to these, our friends and Allies?

This very week we have seen and are seeing the unification of the spiritual, moral and upbuilding forces in one common cause to aid the young men of America who have gone, and who are preparing to go beyond the seas. Has not this example taught us that there may be in any great upbuilding and uplifting endeavor, the same unity, and in that unity the same power for good, that there was in the unification of America to fight and to help win this war? Let us preserve all this. Let us come forward to help rebuild those nations. It is a fine thing that we have a spirit here that not only makes us brave and makes us generous, but must also keep us brave and keep us generous — but let us not forget to be just. Let us teach America to show to the Allies the full stature of her power and her generosity. Those nations cannot be restored without our help, and in building them up from now on we shall still be doing good things for ourselves, and we are called upon to do them the more because our efforts are now so clearly, so obviously, efforts in our own defense.

Let us never forget that for three years and more they fought our battles. For three years and more the soldiers of Belgium and of France and England held back the brutalities of the bar-

barians on that western front, and Englishmen in English ships kept their cruelties from coming to our homes and to our shores. Do you remember those lines of Alan Seeger's, written in France, in the poem he called "A Message to America"?—

> "What singly none would tolerate
> You let unpunished hit the state,
> Unmindful that each man must share
> The stain he lets his country wear.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> If you would see how a race can soar
> That has no love, but no fear, of war,
> How each can turn from his private rôle
> That all may act as a perfect whole,
> How men can live up to the place they claim
> And a nation, jealous of its good name,
> Be true to its proud inheritance,
> Oh, look over here and learn from FRANCE!"

America must still be the champion of human rights, must still be with France and England and Belgium and Italy willing to stand for all the peoples of the world in the happy phrase of President Wilson's wonderful message of today — a message that has the soft luster and perfection of a pearl. President Wilson's phrase was, "we will stand to bring to the whole world and to keep for the whole world a just democracy; and we must guard democracy, its soul and its spirit, and

those institutions which guard its soul and spirit." War and its dangers have passed; but war may bring dangers as well as remove them, and it is for Americans — for America — to preserve that unity of spirit that shall hold them as one to the things that are foremost in the Constitution, in the liberty, in the rights, in the principles and traditions of the country we love, and nothing will help us more to do that than still to keep a sense of our common interest with the nations with which we have been fighting.

"America! America!
God mend thine every flaw,
Confirm thy soul in self-control,
Thy liberty in law.

O, beautiful for heroes proved
In liberating strife,
Who more than self their country loved,
And mercy more than life!

America! America!
God shed His grace on thee
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea!"

WELCOME TO MARSHAL FOCH

AUDITORIUM, CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 5, 1921

FOUR years and a half ago we met here to welcome and honor a military hero of France — Marshal Joffre, the victor of the Marne. Tonight we meet to welcome and honor the military hero, not of France alone, but of the world — Marshal Foch, the victor of the War. Then we made a vow to support to the uttermost this nation's declaration of war. Tonight we pledge the supreme soldier of that war as a messenger of peace.

For more than forty years an ominous shadow had lain across the national life of France. Then suddenly in August, 1914, the long threatened march on Paris began; and for four agonizing years, France bore the brunt of the German assault. She not only gave her sons and her resources in fullest measure, but her soil was the battleground; her cities and villages, her orchards and vineyards, her factories and her mines, were ruined and destroyed, some of them in wantonness or with fiendish calculation. No other nation, not even martyred Belgium, suffered such destruction. And there were losses that no reparations can ever repair.

Through all those desperate years, France held the front line of Liberty. By the tenacity and courage of her soldiery, the military skill of her officers and the unconquerable spirit of her people, reflected and focussed in the genius and spirit of the Supreme Commander, she made the largest contribution to final victory.

Yet there is today no bitterness or hatred in the heart of France toward her ancient but now conquered foe. The brave do not hate. Faithful and uncomplaining in the days of her humiliation, France cannot but be chivalrous in her day of triumph. During the long years that followed the wrongs of 1870-71, France was patient and forbearing, and kept the peace. Today she longs for peace more than ever before. But her liberty and her security — bought at such an awful price — she must not neglect.

Is not France now entitled, has she not earned the right, to dwell in the same confident peace that England and the United States enjoy? Yet how can she relax her vigilance until her eastern neighbor, like our own northern neighbor of a hundred friendly years, proves herself worthy of respect and trust?

Until Germany asks France to forgive, let no one ask France to forget!

In the military principles, character and success of Marshal Foch, there is a quality that peculiarly

appeals to America's ideals and imagination. Scientifically trained engineer, artillerist and strategist as he was, he yet believed, and for many years taught the officers of France, the dominance of *moral* forces in war. Faith, hope, determination, he said, are factors as real and as necessary as intelligence, study, and energy in action; "a battle is lost morally, not materially"; victory is the outcome of moral rather than material forces; and the true commander is "the *soul* of an Army". And in the war he gave frequent illustrations of this creed:

All the world remembers — and always will remember — the message of General Foch to Headquarters at a critical moment on the third day of the Battle of the Marne: "My center is giving way; my right is falling back. *The situation is excellent: I shall attack.*"

When, in October, the German hordes had swept the Belgians back to the Yser, and their heroic King Albert doubted whether his shattered army could halt the superior forces, it was General Foch who said to him: "It is vital to hold the line here. French troops will help you." And the line was held.

Then followed the terrible battle of Ypres, with its new horror and infamy of poison gas, that broke the British lines, and revealed the unflinching valor of the Canadian volunteers. The British

commander was considering an order of retreat, when he learned that General Foch was near, and immediately consulted him. General Foch strongly advised that the city be held at whatever cost. And it was held, and held gloriously, by the British until reserves came to fill their gaping ranks.

So, in the darkest hour of the defense of Verdun — the greatest battle in all history — General Foch encouraged the indomitable spirit of commander and men; and the Crown Prince, and all his vast array of artillery and shock troops, fell back defeated before "They shall not pass."

At Chateau Thierry it was Marshal Foch, Generalissimo of the Allied Armies, who turned the defensive into an offensive that started the Germans on their way back to the Rhine.

And finally, when the long night of agony and blood drew near its end, and the German lines had been retreating for three months, and terms of an armistice had been asked and given — three years ago almost to this very day — and it was urged that the terms should be unconditional surrender, it was Marshal Foch who said: "If these terms are accepted, this War is already ended; therefore, it is not worth the life of one brave soldier to gain harder terms." Like the great Silent Commander of Victory in our Civil War, Marshal Foch in the moment of triumph thought only of Peace.

It is a part of the fine quality of his leadership that he has heart. In all his responsibilities and fame, he has never forgotten the friends of his little native village in the Pyrenees, or the troubles and anxieties of the young officer, or the common soldier. And somehow our American boys in France, though many of them never saw him, knew this, and responded to his human appeal with an added dash and bravery which all the world called superb. That is why there is so much warmth in the welcome of the overseas men. Some of them know that they are here because he stopped the war as soon as he could. Yet, when they were in France, their sense of his leadership only made them more forgetful of self, more ready to fight, to suffer and to die under his command.

Therefore, the welcome of the men of the American Legion means most, and is most grateful, to their old Commander. Already he has received it in very moving and dramatic form. And it awaits him wherever he may go in our country.

This meeting, representative of all the people of our State and City, expresses to Marshal Foch the pride every American has in his triumph, the gratitude every American feels for his commanding service in hastening the end. It expresses also a deeper, tenderer feeling in many hearts, that he was the leader of a Cause sanctified to them by

the loss of those most dear. These mothers and wives may not be in the throngs that acclaim his coming, but they welcome him none the less with proud tears. If they bring no new pledge to France, their reason is that spoken by Theodore Roosevelt: "I have already given to France my best."

Every American heart that suffered any anxiety of war, and every thoughtful and humane citizen will welcome, and will wish to aid, this Warrior-Hero in his pilgrimage of peace.[1]

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[1] "Jan. 11, 1922.

E. A. Bancroft, Esq.,
Scott, Bancroft, Martin & Stephens,
134 S. La Salle Street,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Bancroft:

Alton T. Roberts, National Chairman of The American Legion having charge of the tour of General Foch in America, writes me as follows:

'Believe this will interest you. Lieutenant de Soubeyran kept count of the speeches delivered to Marshal Foch in America. They total four hundred fifty-eight. It was the consensus of opinion of both the French staff and the American Legion members that [the persons who made] the best speeches delivered in the United States ranked in the following order: first, your friend Edgar Bancroft of Chicago; second, President Lowell of Harvard, and, third, the Secretary of Princeton.'

Faithfully,

(Signed) Milton J. Foreman."

THE END

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